Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-91-211 *31 October 1991*

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Foreign Minister Kapllani Departs for Germany

AU3010203191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani has left for an official visit to the FRG at the invitation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy chancellor and foreign minister of the FRG.

He was seen off at Rinas Airport by Vilson Ahmeti, minister of the food industry; Mehill Marku, deputy foreign minister; and others. Michael (?Zeskeritsch), charge d'affaires ad interim of the FRG Embassy in Tirana, was also present.

Bufi Receives Initiators of Proposed Assembly

AU3010203091 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Prime Minister Ylli Bufi received at the Prime Minister's Office today representatives of the intellectuals who have proposed the holding of an assembly for national conciliation and unification.

Those present at the meeting informed the prime minister about the assembly's aims and program. The idea for a pan-national assembly, they said, was proposed some time ago by various political forces. However, because its further realization was neglected, the initiative to hold the assembly was launched by intellectuals, who consider that time can no longer wait.

The prime minister appreciated this initiative as a valuable contribution by intellectuals to national conciliation and unification and to the unity of all Albanians throughout the world, which has become the most importance issue for the destiny of the nation today.

After exchanging views with those present at the meeting about the measures that must be taken for the successful holding of the assembly, he expressed the government's commitment to giving the necessary assistance.

People's Assembly Debates Social Assistance Bill

AU3010151291 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 30 (ATA)—In October 29 plenary sitting of the People's Assembly, which opened before noon the floor was taken by the deputy Leontiev Cuci, who gave the necessary explanations on the draft-law on social assistance. He underlined that the draft-law should not be taken for a law on social assistance in all levels, because the sphere of its activity includes only those who are affected by the reform, hence, it is a law which will cope with the difficulties to emerge from its realization. Regarding the assistance of the peasants who have a little territory of land and the pensions, the deputy Cuci said that the government is working to issue the respective draft-laws. In conclusion he said that this variant put forward expresses the maximum possibilities in the current economic conditions we are undergoing.

Then, on behalf of the parliamentary group of the SP [Socialist Party], the deputy Shkelqim Cani said that the government should negotiate with the foreign states to ensure the necessary minimum for that population strata affected by the reform, not only through the humanitarian aids, but also through the foreign investments in Albania.

The deputy Abedin Elmazi who spoke on behalf of the parliamentary group of the DP [Democratic Party] said that he agrees with the opinions aired by the deputy Cani and underlined among other things that the government should define clear criteria for those who will be subjected to social assistance to bar the way to dishonest acts which might occur. Some deputies aired opinions that the draft-law should be endorsed some other draft-laws have been approved as that on social insurances and pensions. [sentence as received] In conclusion by a majority of votes the draft-law on social insurance was approved in principle.

Debate will go on by the parliamentary groups on October 30, government representatives taking part.

Economic Use of Civil Defense Shelters Authorized

AU3010202891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Oct 91

["Council of Ministers Decree No. 384 of 24 October 1991 on the Economically Beneficial Use of Civil Defense Shelters and Territorial Defense Facilities"]

[Text] To put civil defense shelters and territorial defense tunnels in the service of the economy and to ensure their future maintenance, and at the suggestion of the Defense Ministry, the Council of Ministers decrees:

1. Civil defense shelters built at state expense may be rented to enterprises, institutions, and other legal and physical nationals that are situated near the shelter and within the jurisdiction of the local ward.

2. The renting of these facilities and of territorial defense tunnels must be carried out according to the relevant legal dispositions on privatization.

3. No structural changes or adaptations of these facilities may be carried out, and the storage of dangerous goods and materials in them is forbidden. These structures retain their defensive function. Thus, it must be possible to remove the equipment and goods stored in them within two or three hours after the state of alert is announced by the relevant authority.

4. From 1992, all shelters and tunnels will be planned by the Study and Planning Institute of the Defense Ministry as defense facilities for the civilian population. They will plan to enable them to perform economic functions as

shops, restaurants, cafes, game halls, pie shops, garages, and so forth. This will also apply to the territorial defense tunnels.

5. The communal sections, enterprises, institutions, or persons using them will be responsible for the maintenance of civil defense shelters, and enterprises, institutions, and apartment blocks will be responsible for civil defense shelters on their own territories. Village executive committees are responsible for collective shelters in villages.

This decree takes effect immediately.

Ylli Bufi, chairman of the Council of Ministers

Zhelev Views Candidacy in Presidential Election

AU3010144091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] This morning President Zhelyu Zhelev took part in our Good Morning program. Dr. Zhelev took a stand and expressed opinions on topical political and social issues and answered questions related to the work of the new Cabinet and the formation of the future government. In connection with the listeners' interest in his participation in the presidential elections, Dr. Zhelev said: I would like to be the candidate of those democratic forces that voted for changing the system in the latest elections, regardless of whether they are represented in the legislature or not. I will be even happier if my candidacy becomes the reason for uniting the efforts of the entire legislative and extralegislative parts of the former opposition. However, if this leads to a schism and tension, I would hesitate to participate in the elections.

President Zhelev outlined the basic tasks of the Bulgarian politicians and people at present:

[Begin Zhelev recording] For me, the most important problem is the need to unite the forces of Bulgarian democracy for the most rapid implementation possible of the changes in the country. The economic transformation must be implemented as soon as possible. This means that the land should be returned to the peasant, there should be privatization—both large and small—continuing the changes in the political structures because those changes have only started, they have not been completed. This is the main factor. It can be implemented quickly and efficiently, with the united efforts of all of our politicians. [end recording]

The president was asked whether there is a connection between the meeting with Gorbachev that did not take place and the Soviet Union's stopping the delivery of coal and electric power to our country.

[Begin Zhelev recording] I assume that there is no connection. If there is a connection, then the conclusions could be very sad. In any event, we will have talks today with the USSR Government, as well as with the Governments of the RSFSR and the Ukraine, and then we will know precisely what the reason is, after which we will inform the Bulgarian citizens. [end recording]

Zhelev on Ethnic Issue, Political Scene

AU3010144491 Sofia BTA in English 1153 GMT 30 Oct 91

["President Zhelev: 'Only Democracy Can Cure Ethnic Problems'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 30 (BTA)—Today the national radio broadcast an interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev. He said that the ethnic problems inherited from the former regime can only be solved by democratic means and in a democratic way. It will be a long, difficult and painful process but it has no other alternative, he explained.

Dr. Zhelev described the attempts of certain political circles "on both sides" to capitalize on nationalism in their search of political dividends as extremely dangerous and contradicting the national interests. He warned that adding fuel to this fire is dangerous and may lead to bloody clashes of unpredictable consequences.

When asked about his attitude to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, which represents the interests of the Bulgarian Turks and Muslims, Dr. Zhelev, former leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), reminded the SDS's stand against the registration of an organization founded on ethnic basis.

According to Dr. Zhelev, the Bulgarian Socialist Party is responsible for the registration of the DPS last year. Then its aim was to provoke a split of the opposition's electorate. "I have asked Mr. Lilov several times who should be held responsible for the registration of the DPS but I have received no answer yet," Dr. Zhelev explained.

Concerning the DPS's participation in the elections and in the new parliament the president pointed out that in Bulgaria there is a genuine division of power, so the presidential institution cannot influence the decisions of the judiciary power. He refrained from taking a categorical stand on the DPS's legitimacy on which the Constitutional Court is to judge.

President Zhelev would run for a second term only if he is supported by all democratic forces in this country. If he sees that his candidature would cause tensions and dissension among the former opposition, he may decide against running for president. Commenting on the establishment of the Bulgarian Democratic Centre (BDC) of extraparliamentary liberal and centrist parties and organizations, the president expressed his conviction that there is room for such a formation in Bulgaria, though it is too early to say what its actual role and influence would be. Dr. Zhelev called on the BDC and the extraparliamentary opposition in general to support the new government in the implementation of all measures aimed at advancing the democratic process and the economic reform in Bulgaria.

In response to a question Dr. Zhelev commented on the public "witch hunt discussions" prompted by the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) which yesterday stated that BSP members and sympathizers are being victimized. Dr. Zhelev said that no persecutions were reported to the Presidency and that as long as it is within its powers, this institution would do everything in its power not allow any persecutions of people for their political beliefs or party affiliation. Dr. Zhelev categorically rejected such phenomena. He pointed out that if persecutions for political reasons were started, this would reverse the Bulgarian democratic reform. The president commented on the declaration of the BSP and defined it as a move of the BSP leadership dictated by intraparty considerations which was aimed

at "cementing" BSP's unity using fear as a cohesive force. Dr. Zhelev described these political methods as unacceptable.

The Bulgarian president is not religious, but he respects the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as he sees in it the founder and guardian of the mainstays, values and traditions of one of the oldest civilizations in Europe.

Prime Minister Popov Confers With Libyan Envoy

AU3010205191 Sofia BTA in English 2014 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 30 (BTA)—[passage omitted] Prime Minister Dimitur Popov conferred today with Libya's ambassador in Sofia. Mr. Popov pointed to the need for more active bilateral cooperation and recommended a settlement of the oil supply and regular debt repayment problems, the Government's Press Centre announced. Mr. Popov insists that Bulgarian-Libyan high-level talks be held the soonest possible. [passage omitted]

Closer Ties to Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia Urged

AU3010170291 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 1

[Commentary by Kalin Todorov: "Europe Extends to Urals"]

[Text] "Down with terror and never again with the USSR!" Those words of a National Assembly member obviously mark a past stage of our posttotalitarian development. The visit of President Zhelev to Moscow proved that we will find it difficult to survive in the narrowing world economic space without the Russian commodity and raw materials market, and that one must be prudent when one engages in politics. Against the background of the ever more obvious disintegration of the Soviet Union, the role of Russia becomes ever more important, and a single telephone conversation during a stormy night could become invaluable capital.

Zhelev's visit must not be viewed outside the context of the events that develop in the USSR, the Balkans, and Eastern Europe. It seriously indicates that Russia ever more acts as an independent entity on the international scene and that its interest in the Balkans has been revived. The somewhat forgotten friendly feelings between the two Slavonic peoples could serve as a stabilizing factor in the dangerously heated European powder keg.

The Zhelev-Yeltsin talks demonstrated that new integration relations between the new East European democracies and their former suzerain are possible. This is especially important against the background of their economies, which merged to such a degree that it will take years to separate them again.

After the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and the insistent but justified unwillingness of NATO to guarantee our national security by accepting us as a member of that organization, the only possibility that we have is in balancing our relations with the West and the East. From that point of view, it hardly was a diplomatic misunderstanding that was the only reason that prevented the meeting with Gorbachev.

It would be naive to think that the incident is only the result of the still undetermined priorities between the presidents of the USSR and the RSFSR. However, it is obvious that, in the future, our relations with the separate republics—especially Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia—will be much more important than relations with the center, whose borders are extremely unclear.

The visit of President Zhelev to Moscow revived good traditions of Bulgarian-Russian relations, which were wasted by both countries in recent years.

2-Day International Refugee Seminar Meets

AU3110133591 Sofia BTA in English 1250 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 31 (BTA)—"Considerable difficulties arise from the lack of a migration agency in Bulgaria and of information from the European countries' national migration services. We have information about outgoing Bulgarians but we do not know which of them left as tourists and which emigrated in a refugee capacity," First Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Garvalov said today at a two-day seminar on refugee problems held here on the initiative of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR].

Some 11,000 transit travellers, mostly from Africa, the Middle East and the rest of Asia, have been staying in Bulgaria since the beginning of the year. After the National Assembly ratifies the 1951 refugee convention, a small number of them will be granted refugee status.

The UNHCR experts predict the migration of large ethnic masses from the Soviet Union. The Bulgarian Justice Ministry has information that 1,600 Bessarabian Bulgarians have arrived here so far. Bulgarians from Macedonia may also emigrate to Bulgaria as a result of the armed conflict in Yugoslavia. The Office of the UN High Commissioner will grant aid to Bulgaria if it finds that the country cannot cope with this possible problem on its own.

At the beginning of next year the UNHCR will organize a course for future Bulgarian administrators on refugee problems.

Military Seminar Expresses Concern Over Balkans

AU3010173991 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Major Georgi Buchev: "The Balkans Worry Europe but There Is No Danger of War"]

[Excerpts] By opening the news conference on 24 October, Major General Stoimenov, head of the Ministry of

Defense's press center, used the opportunity (the chief of General Staff's first meeting with journalists from the mass media) to present Colonel General Petrov. Born in 1938 in the village of Elenova in the Sofia Region, he graduated from the Veliko Turnovo military school and two academies. He has passed through all of the basic command posts in the Army, from platoon commander to the top of the General Staff. [passage omitted]

However reluctant some people are to recognize it, at present and for the near future, NATO is a guarantee of the European states' national security, and this is particularly important, bearing in mind the concern expressed at the Vienna Second Seminar on Military Doctrines that it can be difficult to safeguard one's national sovereignty with one's own troops, said Col. Gen. Petrov.

Concerning the volatile situation in Yugoslavia, our country repeats that under no circumstances will we exploit the difficulties of our western neighbor and, in addition, that Bulgaria does not see any specific danger posed by Yugoslavia.

Major General Vakavliev, deputy chief of General Staff, in contrast to some of the other participants, avoided the general conciliatory tone in his speech at the seminar and, in a substantiated and quite specific way, declared our criteria on the question of reasonable sufficiency of the armed forces in the context of our purely defensive military doctrine. This gave cause for this subject to be looked at in more detail at one of the following seminars.

The Bulgarian delegation at the Vienna seminar has conducted 14 dialogues with representatives of delegations from other countries—all of them our neighbors, and most of them the so-called West European states—and also with Deputy Commander of the American Armed Forces in Europe General McCarthy. At the talks that took place, described by Col. Gen. Petrov as exceptionally open, brave, and precise, Bulgaria received support about its worries concerning the presence of large military groups in Eastern Thrace (in other words the Turkish First Army), the concentration of more than half of the Turkish military force (15 units) on just 3 percent of the Republic's territory, and the lack of any significant change in the military preparations of the Turkish Army. By expressing his opinion that the military is slower and lags behind the politicians, Gen. McCarthy shared his willingness to coordinate the positions. Individual NATO countries are contemplating reexamining their attitudes toward this question, and, in the statement of the Turkish representative, the idea was presented of a definite reorganization and a significant reduction in the armed forces in this region. The situation concerning the military concentration in the eastern Thracian region most likely will be discussed on a regional basis, with the idea of securing the same degree of safety for all of the Balkan countries. [passage omitted]

Official National Election Results Published

AU3010092591 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Oct 91 p 1

[BTA report: "Final Election Results: Union of Democratic Forces, 34.36 Percent; Bulgarian Socialist Party, 33.14 Percent; Rights and Freedoms Movement, 7.55 Percent; 110 Parliamentary Seats for the Union of Democratic Forces, 106 for the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and 24 for the Rights and Freedoms Movement"]

[Text] On 21 October, President Zhelev received the members of the Central Electoral Commission, who handed him the commission's resolution on the final results of the 13 October 1991 elections. The resolution will be published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. The president warmly thanked the Central Electoral Commission for its dedicated work, which was carried out under exceptionally difficult circumstances because of the combination of more than one type of election.

The Central Electoral Commission highly praised both the local electoral commissions, which worked day and night, and the mathematicians who calculated the results.

Registration Number	Party, Coalition, Independent Candidates	Number of Votes	Percentage
1	Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]	1,903,567	34.36
2	Liberal Party—Pernik	18,577	0.34
3	Union of Nonparty Guarantors	9,945	0.18
4	Free Cooperative Party	12,150	0.22
5	Bulgarian National Democratic Party	15,399	0.28
6	Organization of the Citizens With Heart Disease and Socially Disadvantaged Citizens in Bulgaria	3,362	0.06
7	"Bulgarian Eagle" Party	4,853	0.09
8	Election Alliance of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Bulgarian Liberal Party, Fatherland Party of Labor, Party of Christian Women for Democracy, Christian Republican Party, "St. Stambolov" People's Liberal Party, Socialist Youth Union, Federation of Bulgarian Socialist Youth, and the ERA-3" Union of Democratic Parties and Movements	1,836,050	33.14
9	"Liberal Congress" Party	14,454	0.26
10	Bulgarian Democratic Party for European and World States	984	0.02
11	"National Patriotic Union" Party	14,288	0.26

Registration Number	Party, Coalition, Independent Candidates	Number of Votes	Percentage (Continued)
12	Bulgarian National Radical Party	62,462	1.13
13	Bulgarian Communist Party	39,386	0.71
14	Bulgarian Democratic Party	13,767	0.25
15	"Preobrazhenie [Transfiguration]" Political Forum	30,442	0.55
16	Christian Radical Party	6,399	0.12
17	Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—United	214,052	3.86
18	Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party	5,916	0.11
19	Bulgarian Communist Party (Marxists)	7,663	0.14
20	"Svoboda [Freedom]" Union for the Turnovo Constitution	39,719	0.72
21	"Nonpartisan People for Democracy" Movement	22,588	0.41
22	Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]	418,168	7.55
23	Bulgarian Business Party	51,497	0.93
24	Party of Free Democrats—Center	866	0.02
25	Bulgarian National Agrarian Union—Nikola Petkov	190,454	3.44
26	Independent Democratic Party	12,770	0.23
27	Bulgarian Workers and Peasants Party—Varna	3,793	0.07
28	Christian Radical Democratic Party	5	0.00
29	"Constitutional Forum" Political Club	0	0.00
30	Union of Democratic Forces—Center	177,295	3.20
31	Union of Democratic Forces—Liberals	155,902	2.81
32	Bulgarian Revolutionary Youth Party	8,133	0.15
33	Party of Property Owners in Bulgaria	8	0.00
34	Coalition of the Bulgarian National Union, Bulgarian Fatherland Party, and "New Democracy" Bulgarian National Union	17,262	0.31
35	Bulgarian Business Bloc	73,379	1.32
36	Free Democratic Party	1,758	0.03
37	"Party of Justice" United Democratic Union	30	0.00
38	"Kingdom of Bulgaria" Confederation	100,883	1.82
	Total of 19 independent candidates	52,617	0.95
	Grand Total	**5,540,837**	**100**

For the first time since the death of Nikola Petkov, a representative of the opposition is holding in his hand a document that officially states that the opposition to the Communist Party has won an election, SDS leader Filip Dimitrov told a BTA reporter immediately after the Central Electoral Commission handed him its resolution on the election results. That is what is unique because elsewhere it is normal for the opposition to come into power. However, Bulgaria was a state of a special kind, Mr. Dimitrov stated; let us hope that it will begin to become more normal. Asked for his assessment of the elections, Mr. Dimitrov said: A margin of 1.2 percent is not a lot, but it will begin to look better when we add a government to that figure.

The distribution of seats to parties and party coalitions by constituencies is as follows:

No.	Constituency	SDS	BSP	DPS	Total
1	Blagoevgrad	5	3	2	10
2	Burgas	5	5	2	12
3	Varna	7	5	1	13
4	Veliko Turnovo	4	5	0	9
5	Vidin	1	3	0	4
6	Vratsa	3	5	0	8

No.	Constituency	SDS	BSP	DPS	Total (Continued)
7	Gabrovo	3	1	0	4
8	Dobrich	2	4	1	7
9	Kurdzhali	0	2	6	8
10	Kyustendil	3	2	0	5
11	Lovech	2	3	0	5
12	Mikhaylovgrad	3	3	0	6
13	Pazardzhik	4	5	0	9
14	Pernik	3	2	0	5
15	Pleven	4	5	0	9
16	Plovdiv City	7	3	0	10
17	Plovdiv Okrug	5	5	1	11
18	Razgrad	0	2	3	5
19	Ruse	4	3	1	8
20	Silistra	1	2	2	5
21	Sliven	3	3	0	6
22	Smolyan	2	2	0	4
23	Sofia 1	9	3	0	12
24	Sofia 2	8	3	0	11
25	Sofia 3	7	3	0	10
26	Sofia Okrug	4	4	0	8
27	Stara Zagora	5	6	0	11
28	Turgovishte	0	2	2	4
29	Khaskovo	3	5	1	9
30	Shumen	1	4	2	7
31	Yambol	2	3	0	5
	Total	**110**	**106**	**24**	**240**

This year, 5,700,000 Bulgarian citizens cast their votes, confirmed Docent Nikolay Vulchanov, a member of the team of mathematicians who calculated the results, after the Central Electoral Commission had adopted its resolution on the results and reported on it to the president and the representatives of the new legislative forces. Last year, the Central Electoral Commission declared that 6,330,000 votes were cast. Mr. Vulchanov added that the difference of 630,000 is accounted for by the phantom voters, about which so much has been said in recent months. According to Docent Vulchanov, this year it was impossible for nonexistent voters to appear and affect the results of the elections.

SDS Officials Hold Talks With Mitsotakis

AU3110111891 Sofia BTA in English 0845 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 31 (BTA)—On their way home from Rome Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), and Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, stopped over in Athens for talks with Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, leader of the New Democracy Party.

Upon his arrival in Bulgaria Mr. Filip Dimitrov told the press that Mr. Mitsotakis and he had discussed "the most important problem, the SDS election victory," the political prospects of the SDS and the future of Bulgarian-Greek relations.

BSP's Bokov on Political Scene After Elections

AU3110121391 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 2

["Telephone interview" with Filip Bokov, member of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium, by an unidentified SVOBODEN NAROD reporter; date not given: "Who Will Pick Social Democratic Trail?"]

[Text] [SVOBODEN NAROD] What do you expect from the coming congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]?

[Bokov] I expect the congress to adopt decisions about the situation within the BSP, which will be an opposition party, and steps aimed at turning the BSP into a legislative and democratic party.

[SVOBODEN NAROD] How will you resolve the issue of your property as a future democratic party?

[Bokov] If our party property lives to see December (after all, there are so many threats on the part of the majority in the future legislature), we are prepared to give up everything, except that which is necessary for the party's existence. This position was determined already by the previous plenum.

[SVOBODEN NAROD] How do you view the position of Aleksandur Yordanov—namely, that the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] was cheated by the BSP, which suggested to the BSDP that it is struggling for a political center, while, in fact, the BSDP was pushed toward the left, toward the BSP?

[Bokov] The future will show who lied to whom, but the truth is that a part of the voters who voted last year for the BSP now voted for the Union of Democratic Forces-Center [SDS-Center] and the SDS-Liberals.

[SVOBODEN NAROD] Does it mean that Socialists disappointed by the BSP have moved to the SDS-Center and that the BSP has become the "party of the capital," as some people say?

[Bokov] The BSP is not the party of the capital because the businessmen did not vote for us. They voted for the Business Bloc and the Business Party. We are marching toward social democracy, which is not the domain of a single party.

Factions Within BSP Leadership Identified

AU3010174191 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 25 Oct p 1

[Report by Sonya Stoyanova: "Pirinski First Demanded Lilov's Resignation"]

[Text] Naturally, while claiming that he has no intention of becoming the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Georgi Pirinski first demanded Aleksandur Lilov's resignation and was supported by the majority of the BSP Supreme Council. Apparently, the patience of many socialist leaders ran out after Lilov's last maneuver—namely, Zhivkov's news conference—which took place on the eve of the plenum. A source close to the Presidium said that "Zhivkov's trick to preserve Lilov did not work."

As far as the balance of power in the BSP Supreme Council is concerned, it is as follows: Lilov relies on people such as Apostol Dimitrov, Krasimir Premyanov, Georgi Bozhinov, and Yanaki Stoilov (who first visited Zhivkov with Lilov). Aleksandur Tomov is forming his own group. That group supports the removal of both Lilov and Lukanov and also the removal of their basic competitor, Pirinski. Bokov, Temelkov, Svetoslav Michev, and Blagoy Dechev defend the "Tomov line," despite the fact that they consider Pirinski a better candidate. Ananieva wants to be on good terms with everyone but prefers to trust Pirinski. Yonchev also has aspirations for the top leadership. Nevertheless, the prevailing opinion within the BSP Supreme Council is that Kyuranov is the most suitable leader for the transitional period.

As far as Lukanov is considered, he apparently has no ambition for a leading post. Is this a real news item?

DPS Ultimatum: Turkish Classes or Boycott

AU3010193791 Sofia BTA in English 1913 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 30 (BTA)—The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) of the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria warned that the boycott of classes in the mixed-population areas would continue until four periods of Turkish a week are included in the Bulgarian school curriculum. A declaration received at the BTA says that the Education Act adopted by the National Assembly is essentially undemocratic not only because it bars Turkish language teaching from Bulgarian schools but because it does not help democratize and improve Bulgarian education.

Boycott is a form of political protest consistent with international agreements on minority rights within the framework of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE Process and should not be viewed as a source of tension in individual areas, the declaration says.

DPS Spokesman Lyutfi Views Podkrepa Activity

AU3010171391 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 1

[Interview with Yunal Lyutfi, spokesman of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, by Tsvetanka Rizova; place and date not given: "Three Questions for Yunal Lyutfi"]

[Text] [Rizova] Mr. Lyutfi, what is the attitude of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] toward the trade unions in Bulgaria?

[Lyutfi] The DPS maintains relations with only the Podkrepa Labor Confederation because we think that that is the only trade union that is adequate to the political situation and realities in the country. It is an informal trade union that most professionally will defend the interests of all of its members. Since its establishment, Podkrepa contributed most to changing the system and turning Bulgaria into a really democratic country. This means that all workers are protected, as is the case in all other democratic countries.

[Rizova] What is your impression of Podkrepa's work in the regions with mixed population?

[Lyutfi] I have a positive impression. Therefore, everything I said up to now is not accidental. The DPS supporters who live in those regions prefer Podkrepa because that trade union does not have a discriminatory attitude in s[illegible]ending the interests of the citizens or the

collectives, regardless of their ethnic or religious origins. Podkrepa gives an example of how to resolve problems mainly in the spheres of trade union activity and defending the rights of the workers. Therefore, it has a serious place in our lives.

[Rizova] Could you cite specific examples of how Podkrepa defends the interests of your supporters?

[Lyutfi] Of course. At the Teodosi Markov plant in Karlovo, they started to fire workers who belonged to a specific ethnic group. That was stopped when Podkrepa interfered. Many of those who were fired without justification got their jobs back. Similar examples exist in the Kurdzhali, Burgas, and Razgrad areas.... Thus, Podkrepa asserted itself as an authoritative trade union, the only one in our country that assumes the responsibility of being an independent and nonparty affiliated defender of all Bulgarian workers. That is a worthy position in the present complex situation.

BSDP Leader Dertliev Not To Run for President

AU3010172691 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Dr. Petur Dertliev gave a news conference at which he stated that, so far, the Bulgarian Democratic Center is composed of the organizations that broke away from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] earlier in the year—the SDS-Center and the SDS-Liberals. He believes that the two Agrarian Unions are the center's natural partners, without, however, committing them in any way.

Dr. Dertliev expressed fears concerning possible persecution of his party and complained about an information blackout, promising a bottle of Metaxa brandy to the journalist who can guess the number of times during the past six months that members of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party have been invited to take part on the Khorizont Radio program.

Dr. Petur Dertliev stated that he will not run for president.

BSDP's Kurtev Appeals for Membership Support

AU3110115291 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Oct 91 p 3

[Open letter from the Executive Bureau of the National Committee of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, led by Ivan Kurtev, to all members and sympathizers; date not given]

[Text] Dear Followers:

We congratulate you on the election victory to which most of you contributed with your direct participation in the election campaign and with your vote. Despite the attempts to split the opposition and, in particular, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP], you displayed political wisdom, and, thanks to your stance, the first defeat in a half-century was heaped on the criminal communist government.

At its 39th Extraordinary Congress, the BSDP decisively disassociated itself from the unprincipled policy of compromise and conciliation conducted by its former leadership, headed by Mr. Petur Dertliev. While some talked about the BSDP seeking its own political image, those social democrats remaining in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] worked honestly and dedicatedly to establish our ideas in practice and succeeded in no small way in introducing social democratic elements into the SDS's election campaign.

In this present period after the elections, there is a great deal of speculation on the question of the political center. However, we must ask ourselves: Is it, in fact, the SDS and this coalition of heterogeneous formations united by political realism that is the natural center of the Bulgarian political landscape, where, at one extreme, you have the Marxist dinosaurs and, at the other, national radicals, participants in the Red International? The center, as visualized by former SDS leaders, was, in fact, needed by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] for an eventual coalition partner and, in essence, for window dressing. The position adopted by the BSDP's 39th Extraordinary Congress proved that social democracy in Bulgaria is alive, despite the efforts of the group around P. Dertliev and those formations mimicking "social democracy" in the BSP. Today, the BSDP has its deputies in the new legislature, its mayors in the country's large towns, representatives in municipal authorities, and representation at all levels of government.

The BSDP's new statute does not envisage the disbanding of organizations or the expulsion of members on the orders of the party leadership. This is why, friends, you who are honest social democrats but who, for one reason or another, did not support us before the elections preserve your place with us as full members of the party.

At the moment, our efforts are directed toward strengthening the organizations and support for the SDS legislative group and the future government in implementing the SDS's program.

Dear followers, the establishment of real democracy in Bulgaria also needs you. We are relying on your cooperation and support.

Ivan Kurtev, Chairman of the Executive Bureau of the BSDP National Committee

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Functions Below Capacity

AU3010150891 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The reactors of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant have a total capacity of 3,760 megawatts, yet the reactors that are functioning work at a capacity of only

1,400 megawatts and daily ensure 32 million kw/h of electric power. The fact that the nuclear power station functions at about 50 percent of its capacity does not contribute to resolving the country's power supply crisis. This was stated to BTA by Kiril Nikolov, chairman of the Nuclear Power Supply Economic Trust.

The first and the fifth reactors are still being repaired. The third reactor is ready to be activated at an initial capacity of 200 megawatts, after the opinion of the receiving commission is heard and the permission of the Committee on Power Supply is obtained. The sixth reactor is functioning at 75 percent of its capacity. If the government does not allow the fourth reactor, which is supposed to be shut down, to function for a while—and such a possibility exists—its 440-megawatt capacity will also drop; thus, the power supply will become even more problematic, Mr. Nikolov thinks.

EC Experts Inspect Plant

AU3110133191 Sofia BTA in English 1248 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Kozloduy, October 31 (BTA)—A team of Belgian, French, British and German experts from a European Community consortium will assess the risk of accidents and discuss possible counter measures.

Mr. Heine Limersdorf, head of the team, believes that after the power plant is overhauled and brought into line with international safety standards, it will operate reliably. The team is making a thorough analysis of the risks of accidents, the maintenance of the site, of fire precautions and the seismic strengthening of the installations. Its findings and recommendations will be submitted to the Nuclear Power Corporation, the Committee on the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy and the government.

USSR Suspends Coal Deliveries Until Year's End

AU3010165091 Sofia BTA in English 1622 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Iva Toncheva: "Hard Winter in the Offing"]

[Text] Sofia, October 30 (BTA)—Electricity rationing was reintroduced yesterday. Three hours "on," alternate with one hour "off." Bulgarians were subjected to the same austerity last winter.

The Soviet Union told Bulgaria on October 28 that no more coal will be supplied until the year's end for "force majeure" reasons. Bulgaria was to receive 1,550,000 tonnes of coal for two thermal power plants with a combined capacity of 1,830 megawatts.

Power supply was expected to be rationed again at the end of the year but the power line from the Ukraine and Moldavia to Bulgaria went out of operation yesterday. The Soviets said the reason was "an oil leak from an electricity measuring transformer in a substation in Moldavia." The Bulgarian Committee on Power Engineering secured emergency supply from Greece and Yugoslavia and called on the people to cut down peak-hour consumption. Thanks to this supply, it became possible to reduce the power cuts from two in five to one in four hours. Turkey will also provide electricity for Bulgaria.

Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov said in an interview on national radio today that for four weeks now the Soviet Union has not allowed exports exceeding 480 megawatts, while the contracts envisage exports of 800 megawatts. Despite the halved supply from the Soviet Union, the Bulgarian Government managed to compensate shortages and the people were spared the trouble. Mr. Tomov described the suspension of power supply from the Soviet Union as an "uncivilized action," because it was taken without notice.

The bilateral agreement on power supply does not contain safeguards against the suspension of supply. Officials of the Committee on Power Engineering left for Kiev yesterday to sign contracts on power supply for 1992.

"I believe there is no connection between my unrealized meeting with President Gorbachev and the suspension of supply," President Zhelyu Zhelev said in an interview on national radio today. "But if there is, only sad conclusions can be drawn," he pointed out. The Bulgarian president expects today's talks with the Soviet and the Ukrainian Governments to clear up the actual reasons for the suspension of supply.

The power shortage cannot be compensated by the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, Mr. Kiril Nikolov, chairman of the Nuclear Power Engineering Corporation, told BTA today. Only 1,400 megawatts of electricity are being produced by Kozloduy's facilities with installed capacity for 3,760 megawatts. Units One and Five are still under repair. Unless the government postpones the shutdown of Unit Four for an overhaul—which is quite possible, power supply will become even more difficult without its 440-megawatt capacity, Mr. Nikolov said.

The only good news is that the utility company in Ruse, Bulgaria's fourth biggest city, is well-stocked with coal for the coming winter. But the Ruse coal-fired power plant is not among the major producers in the national energy system.

Tomov Outlines Power-Supply Problems

AU3110170391 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 31 (BTA)—The state of Bulgaria's power engineering made it impossible for it to withstand the four consecutive blows it was delivered within a month, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov told the press today.

About four weeks ago electricity import from the USSR was reduced from 800 MW [Megawatts] to 480 MW. All reserves in the energy system were used to compensate this reduction. Then the USSR cut coal deliveries by 510,000 tonnes. A few days later the USSR advised Bulgaria that all coal deliveries would be stopped till further notice. Finally, on October 29, electric power deliveries from the USSR were totally suspended.

Electric power generated in Bulgaria on October 30 totalled 5,525 MW. All capacities are working at peak load but they cannot compensate the shortage of 300-400 MW, Mr. Tomov explained. He also said that the government took urgent steps for the temporary electricity import from Greece and Yugoslavia, thus covering the immediate needs of major plants, transport and the hospitals. "We hope that in two days we will no longer need electricity rationing. The embassy in Moscow said that the power line will be restored by Saturday. The government has no grounds to believe that the discontinuation of power supply is politically motivated," Deputy Prime Minister Tomov said.

He added that Bulgaria's present energy problems are also related to her decision to switch off the first two generating units at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, for which she has not received the promised compensations from Western Europe.

Statistics Show Further Slump in Stock Breeding

AU3110111491 Sofia BTA in English 1016 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 31 (BTA)—The National Statistical Institute reports that cattle in all types of farms decreased 7.8 percent between January and September 1991, cows 3.4 percent, sheep 10 percent, pigs 11.7 percent, and poultry 37 percent.

Milk production dropped 15.3 percent, egg production 23 percent and meat output 39 percent from the same period of 1990.

The milk output at private farms is 20 percent higher, while eggs are down by 8 percent in comparison with 1990. The increase in the number of livestock reported in the first half of the year remains steady on private farms.

Carnogursky Discusses Liberalism, Slovak Issues

AU3010091991 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Oct 91 p 11

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Karel Kriz and Petr Husak; place and date not given: "Two Hundred Years with Lucifer"]

[Text] Jan Carnogursky is a man of strong views. Some people say that he is a visionary, others that he is a supporter of dead ideas in Europe, and others that he is a Slovak intellectual par excellence. We may disagree with Jan Carnogursky, we may conduct polemics with him—but he is never boring.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Prime Minister, your trip to the United States caused a big reaction in Bohemia, particularly what you said about liberalism there. Did you mean that American-type liberalism—which is basically comparable to socialism—or real liberalism, that is, European liberalism, the foundations of which were laid by Adam Smith?

[Carnogursky] European liberalism. I said it explicitly in a lecture there. Liberalism represents a philosophical, social, economic, and political orientation that, in most cases, does not recognize the existence of God. It considers solutions adopted by the majority as correct and attaches minimal or no importance to ethics as one of the decision criteria. In the economic sphere, it has a penchant for monetarism and economic policy that prefers, as far as possible, purely opportunistic and effective solutions, again, without stressing their ethical or social content.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] We see it differently. For example, Minister Jezek, who is probably the greatest Czech liberal, is a strong believer in God. The problem is that until the 17th century, traditional Catholicism considered people involved in industry and trade as despicable and condemned them. In the era of Protestant ethics, this Catholic belief became reconciled with the fact that self-interest is a key motivation for man in the economy, a motivation that need not be glorified, but respected and used for positive activity. It seems to us that all of West Europe and its success in the last 200 years is based precisely on the fact that the version of original Christianity, which was hostile toward people involved in industry and trade, has been abandoned. We are of the opinion that what you said in America was an attempt at negating those 200 years of harmony between religious belief and a certain pragmatic solution.

[Carnogursky] I consider what West Europe has achieved in the last 200 years to be correct; however, we must not forget that this has been achieved amidst a fight between various ideological streams - socialist, liberal, and Christian. For example, in the previous century, German Bishop Koetele tried to harmonize the industrial and commercial development with the principles of Catholic ethics. This means that we do not have to counterbalance industrial and commercial development with the development of civilization in general. When I spoke against liberalism, in no way did it mean that I also opposed the results of industrial, commercial, or even cultural development achieved in Europe. Two more points: In my lecture, I made reference to Pius X's encyclicals of 1907, which are against liberalism. I said that only to pass the buck. Another thing is that you began your question by saying that 200 years ago there was some kind of arrangement in Europe, and then a different development took place. This reminds me of a certain book. Sometime in the middle 1970's, one of the French new thinkers published a book under the title "Two Hundred Years With Lucifer" where he interpreted European philosophy—starting, I believe, with Kant and Hegel—as a Luciferian philosophy that ideologically prepared the path to concentration camps and totalitarian regimes, simply by believing that it could understand the whole of society, understand the logic of the development of this society, and—making use of this knowledge— manipulate and guide its development in the desired direction.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Liberalism is explicitly oriented toward intellectual pride, a pride that takes the liberty to decide where to manufacture what, what it should cost, and so on. Liberalism decentralizes the economy and political issues, leaving them to specific bodies that know best—according to their own scale of values—what to do and how to do it. In the 18th century, there was an advent of socialist ideas—this intellectual pride—and it is possible that, after 20 to 30 years, the current era will be described as having put an actual end to such ideas. The historic arc will probably close, and the world will return to humility in the face of the order of things. I believe that liberalism played an important role in this process. You have classified liberalism among totally different things. You even said that liberalism creates an intellectual refuge for former communists....

[Carnogursky] Yes, I can see, precisely here in this country, that former communists have become convinced liberals. Even politically they follow the liberally oriented movements. Yes, liberalism does recognize the freedom of the individual. But I believe that it is not possible to interpret it in the way you see it, since liberalism may decentralize the decision-making by shifting it from above to below, to individuals, but, at the same time, it permits everything to this individual. Solzhenitsyn, when he arrived in America, said in a lecture at Harvard: By allowing man to do anything, or trying to allow him anything; the philosophy that dominates here forgets that the devil, too, resides within man. Liberalism is capable of analyzing and utilizing certain common features of man without his being aware of it—for example, in commercials. This means that liberalism still possesses intellectual pride. It may decentralize the decisionmaking but, due to the fact that it knows man so perfectly, it knows how to single out the common elements and use them—in fact, it manipulates man.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] With what do you want to replace liberalism?

[Carnogursky] Christian democracy in politics, and social market policy in the economy.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Is it not true that we have operated less on market principles but rather on social principles, and this is the source of our problems?

[Carnogursky] Yes, maybe yes.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Are you against capitalism?

[Carnogursky] I am for capitalism. If you put it this way—contrary to Minister Klaus, for example, I believe, the Christian Democratic Movement distinguishes between clean and dirty money.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Klaus did not say that he did not distinguish between dirty and clean money. He only said that he did not know a way of telling clean money from dirty money in the given situation.

[Carnogursky] Well, we believe that there are such methods; we even believe that we know them and that they are applicable, even if not in an absolute way. What is absolute in life, anyway? We want, for example, to make it possible for the people, current employees of enterprises, in particular, to become co-owners of these enterprises. In other words, we want them to have advantage over, for example, outside entrepreneurs who could pay more for the enterprise, yet there would be no guarantee what kind of money it would be.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Your economic adviser, Tim Evans, declares himself to be a liberal....

[Carnogursky] This is OK. This does not mean that he cannot be my economic adviser.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Komarek made a speech in Bratislava the day before yesterday. Mr. Zala, too, who is the chairman of social democrats in Slovakia, was also present. When asked who his possible allies would be, Mr. Zala said: the Party of the Democratic Left, the For a Democratic Slovakia Movement, and the Christian Democratic Party, which have, in his words, a similar program. Is that not an indication that your economic policy is too leftist, from the point of view of standard European Christian democracy? I can sense the intellectual pride there....

[Carnogursky] I believe I cannot say a 100 percent no to your question. Of course, this is the Germans' point of view, but I must say that we have good contacts with the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], and also with the CSU [Christian Social Union], and it is no secret that our people are, to a large extent, trained by them.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] And Mr. Zala?

[Carnogursky] There are various coalitions established in politics. Various political parties or movements are often united on one or more points that are similar in their programs and, in other points, these programs may be quite different. In democratic policy, compromises are made. Even when a coalition is being established, compromises are made, too. This is why it is possible that strange coalitions may arise. I remember that two months ago I read a statement by Mr. Zala saying that Czechoslovakia should remain a federation, because among other reasons, there would be a danger that a clerical state would be established if Slovakia separated and became independent. Mr. Zala apparently believed that it would be the Christian Democratic Movement that would establish it. You should ask Mr. Zala about the contradictions in his two statements.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Prime Minister, you also spoke with Mr. Niles at the State Department in Washington. What is the Americans' opinion on the possible division of the state?

[Carnogursky] Mr. Niles took over his office about two weeks ago. I had the impression that he wanted to complete his information about his assigned area of Central and Eastern Europe. Previously, he worked for some years at the embassy in Moscow and, for example, part of our conversation was in Russian. I was curious about his opinion on the division of the republic. Mr. Niles only said that the United States prefers a federation, yet the United States would accept any solution.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Miskovsky of the Slovak National Party described your New York remarks as reflecting a Bolshevik attitude that will contribute to the disintegration of the government coalition in Slovakia....

[Carnogursky] My lecture at the United Nations cannot be described as Bolshevik because, among other things, its first and greater section summarizes the victorious struggle between Catholic social teaching and socialism. Only the second and smaller section was devoted to the future struggle of liberalism. Another thing: Ideological differences between the Christian Democratic Movement and the Public Against Violence movement are known, and we have never made a secret of them. The struggle with liberalism will be fought on the ideological plane, of course. This is clear. From time to time, there will also be struggles over some practical issues. This is what has been happening in Slovakia from the beginning of this coalition government. We are in a minority, and that is why we are losing. However, it is not serious enough to lead to the disintegration of the government coalition.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Prime Minister, you are a politician who supports the view that Slovakia should have its own little star in the European heavens. Suppose you assert your concept for the treaty between the republics: What steps will you take next?

[Carnogursky] For the next year at least, or perhaps two, it will be necessary to fine-tune this new arrangement. In any event, this will mean a great change in the republic's internal structure, as you know. The republic constitutions should not cause us any great problems, but there

will be problems with the federal constitution and a number of practical problems await us, the kind that crop up when one type of internal arrangement is replaced by another. After the meeting in Karlovy Vary, I gave Petr Pithart a copy of an article published in THE WASHINGTON POST under the headline "The Dilemma of Secession." The experiences of composite states are generalized there. During my visit to America, when I had held discussions with some lawyers, I became more aware of something: Either a certain power exists, a dominant power, that—as a rule, can only be the army—can act decisively concerning the internal arrangement, or this dominant power is lacking. For example, the Civil War in the United States was, in fact, waged over the individual states' status and authority. Slavery was merely the triggering mechanism, an issue in which the differing constitutional and legal philosophies manifested themselves: The northern states wanted a federation, while the southern states wanted a confederation. When they did not reach an agreement, the Army made the decision. It was the same in our country in 1939, when the autonomous Slovak Government was reaching the breaking point and General Homola occupied Slovakia on 9 March 1939. This was how he attempted to assert a solution. To be brief: Either there is a certain force—which, in the final analysis, can only be the army—that asserts a specific solution, or such a force is lacking. The state will break up, or a compromise solution will be found. In Czechoslovakia, there is no army that would want—or, I think, even be capable of—achieving solutions by exerting force. On the other hand, we see that conflicts often erupt between the Slovak and Czech Republics. These are caused by the sentence in the preamble to the treaty with Germany, or by the preamble to the agreement with the European Community, or by goodness knows what else. There are also indisputable advantages to maintaining the joint state. Therefore, I see a solution in keeping joint jurisdiction to a minimum, because this will also minimize the sources of potential conflict.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] We personally do not believe that Europe will succeed in integrating itself. We think the end of polarization will lead to centrifugal tendencies. Your confederative solution places Czech policy in a tight corner. It will guarantee Slovakia economic assistance and political protection for its borders. However, every voter in the Czech lands will ask: What will a confederation bring to the Czech Republic, economically and politically? People in Prague are even beginning to say that the joint state was Masaryk's greatest mistake.

[Carnogursky] I think that both Czech and foreign politicians are willing to recognize any kind of state continuity today—whether this continuity comes in federal, confederal, or even looser form. We see this, for example, in the USSR. If the Union treaty were concluded in the form envisaged, it would lead to a looser arrangement than a confederation. Despite this, such a Union would be accepted abroad. This means that Czechoslovakia in a similar form would also be willingly accepted abroad. Some American politicians have made this clear. A confederative arrangement would also be in the Czech Republic's interest, because the state's continuity and international guarantees for its borders, in which the Czech Republic must have the same interest as Slovakia, would be preserved. From the point of view of future development, I admit that Europe will not become politically united as quickly as some idealists imagine, but it will become economically united. This is the express train that no one will halt. From this point of view, Czechoslovakia's economy—or the economies of the Czech lands and Slovakia—will inevitably, sooner or later, become an integral element of the European economy. Then it will really not matter, from the point of view of the Slovak and Czech economies, whether we have a single Czechoslovak economy or two national economies, because we will be drawn into the European economy. In the event that European integration takes place, I am afraid that, if Slovakia does not have an individual constitutional and legal arrangement, it will perish in Europe. This is because our partner in political negotiations will not be the 10 million-strong Czech nation, but the 350 million-strong European nation.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] It is a question of whether we should join Europe at all....

[Carnogursky] I admit, this is another thing that speaks in favor of the fact that Czech political representatives, and also Czech society, should consider any form of association with Slovakia, because it is precisely Slovakia that links Bohemia with the Slavic world, to the East. A long time ago I read "The White Mountain" by Pekar. Pekar writes that if the Czechs had won the battle on White Mountain, Protestantism would have won in Bohemia. In that case, the Czechs, by their religion and ideology, would belong to Germany, which was mostly protestant at that time. They would have become germanized sooner, because there were no religious or ideological differences that would act as barriers. I am afraid that something similar could happen in the present or in the near future, particularly if the republic splits up. Czech and German liberalism would merge. Bohemia would be in Western Europe but for Bohemia, West Europe means Germany.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] There was a similar situation in Central Europe in the 16th century. The Turks exerted considerable pressure on the Central European area, and this may also be the reason why the Habsburg monarchy—which organized the defense of this area—came into being. Is it possible that in a longer span of time something similar will be established to defend the genuine Central European area?

[Carnogursky] Under current conditions, the words "defense of this region" sound too militaristic. Such a danger would not likely be a military one, but let us say that there would be a threat to cultural identity. Should this be the case, even I would consider a certain cultural and spiritual rapprochement of the nations of central Europe very desirable. However, we want Slovakia to act

as an independent body within such a union, since this is the only way Slovakia can make its maximum contribution to this constellation. At the same time, I believe that it is precisely in the constellation of Czechoslovakia - Poland - Hungary, that Slovakia will be able to assert itself the soonest as an equal partner.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] How would the post-November development have changed if you had become president or prime minister?

[Carnogursky] There would be no big differences, because from the moment the government of national consensus took office, we all tried to test the ground in the prevailing situation. We all had only very rough ideas that we wanted privatization and democracy. The ideas about economic reform have only gradually crystallized. I can remember that at the beginning of the economic reform, Valtr Komarek was expected to draw up its scenario, since he had been selected for the government of national consensus as "Der Ekonomist." He had not presented sufficiently concrete material, and Vaclav Klaus began presenting his own ideas about economic reform. In such decisive discussions in the government, as was the case of the two concepts for economic reform, I always was on Vaclav Klaus' side. By that, I only want to say that even if my position were different from what it was, no big changes would have taken place. However, I would have had greater opportunities to push through my idea about the common republic as a "republic of republics." Masaryk's republic is coming to an end. A new republic will have to show more respect for the Slovak national idea, because Slovakia's power today is greater than it was in 1918, 1938, and 1945.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] More than a year ago you shocked some Bohemian politicians when you began to speak very openly about a gradual emancipation of Slovakia in the European firmament. The first reactions among European politicians were negative. Have you observed a shift in their opinions in the course of the year?

[Carnogursky] It cannot be said that politicians abroad would accept the idea of Slovakia's emancipation, but they tolerate it to a larger extent— mostly under the influence of Yugoslav events, but also the events in the Soviet Union. The national idea is becoming very topical. Even prior to the revolution, at the beginning of 1989, during a meeting of westerners in Prague, I wrote an article "Seen from the Danube." In it, I expressed the idea that sooner or later the ideological and political division of Europe would cease to exist and that Europe would unite. At that time, I asked somewhat bitterly what East Europe could bring to the common coffers, because if we entered Europe, we would do so as complete beggars. Now, paradoxically, it seems to me that we are still coming to Europe as beggars, but our great contribution to the treasure of European culture is the revival of the national idea. Under the influence of events in central and Eastern Europe, its revival can be seen in West Europe, too —in Belgium, Spain, and France. In Germany, it manifests itself as an emphasis on regionalism. At the latest meeting of the European Democratic Union in Paris, in which I participated, the Christian Democratic Movement proposed including the following passage in the final communique: "The struggle for emancipation of the nations of Central and East Europe is an enrichment of European history." This passage appeared in the communique. It has thereby become a pan-European statement. But I can see that you are not overly enthusiastic....

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What if the emancipation process in various regions does not come to a halt? What if, within the framework of Slovakia, the problems of the, for example, Slovjan nation [Slovjansky narod] begin to come to the fore?

[Carnogursky] Theoretically, this is possible. I do not envisage such development within the next decade, because a nation's emancipation is a very long-term process. However, I admit that sometime, perhaps in the next century, something like this could happen. Every nation has to demonstrate a certain vitality to gain an historical claim to its emancipation. If smaller units demonstrate this vitality, why not?

[LIDOVE NOVINY] We admit that it did not occur to us after the November revolution that we would have to completely reevaluate the entire substance of our joint state's existence. Were you convinced at that time about such an eventuality?

[Carnogursky] Yes. Perhaps I may refer to an interview that was published before the revolution in the magazine ALTERNATIVA [ALTERNATIVE]. Eva Kanturkova asked me a question concerning the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks. I replied that we should proceed from the premise that Czechoslovakia should be perceived as the nucleus of a larger unit, with all its impact for the emancipation of our nations within Europe. Let me return to liberalism. A time bomb is contained in its very rationalistic core. However, on the other hand, there is no danger that it could get out of control. This danger is very great in a movement with an emotional charge—a nationalistically or religiously motivated movement. I do not see my role in nagging at people to follow a nationalist orientation or any other orientation. I believe that development will spontaneously proceed in a direction toward the emancipation of nations. I see my role, and also the role of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], in making sure that development does not proceed in a harmful direction, because the risk of this is always very great.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Whoever spoke Czech in the 17th and 18th centuries was regarded as an inferior person. Whoever spoke the same language in the 19th century, on the contrary, won the necessary points. Everything had completely turned round. What if it turns out that Slovaks do not want to be Slovaks? What if they become too cosmopolitan in the European melting pot and everyone learns German, English....

[Carnogursky] This is possible. However, the national ideal provides a certain guarantee that this would come later, if worst comes to the worst. Another thing is that, although Czech was less well-known in the 18th century, lasting values—for example, baroque values—developed from the melting pot of philosophy at that time. In the 19th century, thanks to the period of nationalism, wonderful Czech romantic literature, the jewel in the crown of Czech culture, was written. However, nationalism in Czech society is not the same as it was during the last century. Nevertheless, we are fond of reading Neruda, Vrchlicky, and all the rest even today. I see this being the case in the future. If the national ideal survives in Slovakia, everything will be in order. If it does not survive, it will only be because it will be replaced by a better ideal. I do not want to absolutize the nation, but even a period of outright nationalism leaves certain lasting values behind it.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You admit to various alternative interpretations for future development. You have said that you see your role and that of the KDH in supporting sensible alternatives, while, on the contrary, you will dispose of nonsensical alternatives. We are coming, in retrospect, to a philosophical issue—this is, to a certain extent, intellectual pride.

[Carnogursky] I admit this. Therefore, humility, or at least the suggestion of it, will never harm me personally or the KDH.

Meciar on Possible Slovak-Moravian 'Alliance'

LD3010223891 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The possibility of creating an alliance between Slovakia and Moravia, if no agreement was reached between the Slovak and the Czech republics, was mentioned by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia at a news conference in Bratislava today. The movement supports the view that the Slovak constitution must be adopted prior to the adoption of a treaty between the two republics, and this treaty should have the character of a permanent international treaty.

The representatives of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia believe that a Slovak constitution can be adopted by the end of this year, and shortly afterwards a state treaty between the two republics can be concluded; and they do not exclude Moravia as a third subject. Vladimir Meciar also added that the emancipation efforts of 1.7 million citizens who subscribe to Moravian nationality cannot be overlooked.

Slovak Press Criticizes Instigators in Bratislava

AU3010151791 Prague CSTK in English 0832 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Bratislava— The Slovak independent daily NARODNA OBRODA said Tuesday that "Slovakia's biggest enemies are among those who fly nationalist banners," in a comment on Monday's disrespectful behavior towards Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in Bratislava.

At the gathering marking the 73rd anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak state (October 28, 1918) Havel proposed a two-minute silence to honor the memory of victims of Czechoslovakia's freedom struggle.

NARODNA OBRODA said for the second time a man who is a symbol of victorious opposition to communist totalitarian rule was disgraced. "An independent Slovakia with such people could become the grave of democracy as they are unable to show respect even for the dead," the paper said. These groups present Slovaks in the world as a nation that is not yet mature enough to coexist with other European nations respecting modern democratic principles.

The Christian Democratic Movement's daily SLOVENSKY DENNIK notes that well-organized separatist groups have been poisoning the atmosphere of every national event, and says their aim is to discredit state representatives in the eyes of the Slovak public and discourage as many decent Slovaks as possible from participating in similar events.

The daily stresses that these groups represent neither the Slovak nation nor the majority of Slovak National Party (SNS) members and sympathizers. [passage omitted]

Czech Press Blames Slovak Leaders

AU3010151591 Prague CSTK in English 0758 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CSTK)— "Even those who have fallen and died in war did not find mercy at the hands of the Slovak 'patriots'," writes today's farmers' daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY about yesterday's demonstration on the 73rd anniversary of the birth of the independent Czechoslovak state.

President Vaclav Havel, speaking in the Slovak capital of Bratislava, called for two minutes of silence in memory of those who had been killed in defending the freedom of the Czech and Slovak nations, but was booed by many in the crowd.

"Many of the Slovak so-called politicians are publicly burdened with an indelible sin. Above all, they are guilty of using a false sense of patriotism to transform part of the Slovak people into a dull, unthinking, uncultured, unfathomable mass, willing to be the obedient instrument of their own demagogic leaders," the paper writes.

The independent daily LIDOVE NOVINY remarks that the celebration in Bratislava "was transformed into a nationalistic fury by a significant part of the 15,000 participants."

The paper concludes: "Whether or not the nationalists get what they want, next year let them celebrate the first anniversary of an independent Slovak state. However, if the citizenry refuse to do so, then Czechoslovakia will have enough strength so that at its 74th anniversary, its president, regardless of the place, can say what he wants without being offended."

Concerning the events in Bratislava, the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES writes: "Not until Slovak politicians know what they really want, not until they say clearly, without being evasive, and without back pedalling, not until the people, whom they represent, actually know who is leading them—only then will we be able to celebrate the holiday, whether it be a Czech, Slovak, or Czechoslovak holiday."

[The Bratislava events are also the subject of a 400-word Cestmir Kubik commentary in Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 29 October on page 1, entitled "The Mob and Democracy." Kubik says: "The guests [President Havel and his entourage] were escorted to the platform by Slovak National Council Chairman Miklosko. Jan Carnogursky, the second highest Slovak representative, was also present. Were they ashamed? Were they ashamed of themselves, too? After all, what happened did not happen by coincidence but as a consequence of something! One year ago, the Slovak prime minister declared, undoubtedly in the spirit of the innermost conviction of his father, that the plaque for Tiso had been unveiled prematurely. Miklosko joined him by expressing pride in the existence of Tiso's state, which, in their opinion, interrupted the continuity.... It is their Slovakia in which former members of the Hlinka Guard, people who used to murder and inform on upright Slovaks, call for setting up a 'home guard,' unashamedly take out their uniforms, and bringing up their sons and grandsons in this spirit...." Kubik also says that the Bratislava and Slovak police chiefs "should bear not only responsibility, but also the consequences" for what happened in Bratislava.]

Klaus on Budgets, Economic Reform, Unemployment

AU3110094791 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Oct 91 p 2

[CSTK report: "The Time for Games is Coming to An End"]

[Text] Hodonin—The game over who will write the preamble to the constitution is coming to an end. The drawing up of next year's budget will be one of the most decisive moments. Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus, deputy prime minister and CSFR finance minister, said this at a meeting with people from Hodonin yesterday.

He said that economic reform "is taking its best possible course." When asked his opinion on Federal Assembly Chairman Dubcek's recent pronouncement about the screening law and about himself, Klaus said that criticism from that quarter has always been a great honor to him. He said on the subject of the screening law that the Civic Democratic Party seeks a balanced situation along the axis past-present-future. He also explained intentions regarding coupon privatization, in the first wave of which property amounting to 300 billion korunas will be included.

V. Klaus assumes that data indicating 400,000 unemployed is not a precise figure since many people are not interested in getting a job. He expects another economic downfall next year. It would be beneficial if Czechoslovakia reached the bottom as early as next year since the recovery would then come sooner. This is why we must expect another increase in unemployment, he said.

According to V. Klaus, the preliminary 1992 budgets of the Czech and Slovak Republics foresee an overall deficit of 94.6 billion korunas. He said in this connection that "the Civic Democratic Party and he, too, will be considered tough, but we must not give in any more."

Calfa Outlines Budapest Talks With Antall

AU3010192991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Oct 91 p 7

[CSTK report: "A Wide Range of Issues"]

[Text] Budapest—I do not know why our talks had to be divided into official and unofficial talks, since we are meeting with friendly representatives and are discussing topics of interest to both of us, said CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa to a CSTK correspondent in Budapest, in reply to a question on the nature of his visit to Hungary.

Apropos his talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Antall—which took place on the evening of 25 October—Prime Minister Calfa said that they concerned a wide range of issues of common interest, including those that arouse the public's interest in both states. Sandor Keresztes, Hungarian minister for environmental protection, was also present during a discussion on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project. The Hungarian side proceeded from the premise that a qualitative shift had taken place in dealing with this issue, due to the fact that parliamentary deputies from both countries have begun to discuss the issue together and that CSFR Minister Josef Vavrousek visited Hungary. Deputies from the environmental protection committees agreed to set up a working group that would deal with these matters. Foreign experts would also be involved.

At the same time, said the CSFR prime minister, I pointed out that this is not only an environmental issue. As far as we are concerned, it is also a construction, economic, energy, and transportation issue, and we would be very pleased if deputies from committees concerned with these areas would begin to hold joint talks. We presented the idea that Slovak National Council deputies should also take part in the talks because, after all, the project is being completed on Slovak territory and is very important for Slovakia's

energy potential. It was then proposed that the talks take place on a trilateral basis in view of the political orientation of the water project's opponents and supporters.

The Hungarian side was of the opinion, added the CSFR prime minister, that we should pledge to suspend construction during the talks. I rejected this and said that I see no reason why we should suspend construction and, in other words, accede for another year to their point of view when they suspended construction work several years ago. They have to understand, said Marian Calfa, that this is unacceptable to us for domestic political reasons.

Naturally, we also discussed the ethnic minority issue, said the prime minister. The Hungarian prime minister said that they are monitoring development in our country very closely. They are of the opinion that the CSFR should be preserved because it is a modern state and is stronger than two small states would be. They also proceed from the premise that the ethnic minority issue would be dealt with in a more qualitative manner in a larger unit. He pointed out to me, continued Prime Minister Calfa, that they are in favor of the idea of collective rights, but on a European level. They want friendly relations with Czechoslovakia and with Slovakia because it is their immediate neighbor. If something should happen that could be incorrectly interpreted, according to the Hungarian prime minister, it would be necessary to establish contact immediately and not immediately start a polemic and then clear up the matter, said Marian Calfa in conclusion.

Antall, SFRY Envoy Comment on Barcs Incident

LD3010192991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by Csaba Belenesi on interviews with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Yuglosav Ambassador Rudi Sova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall spent part of today in Barcs in Somogy County to see personally the results of the Sunday night events. It is known that Yugoslav military aircraft dropped 100 grenades on the town on Sunday. In the summary by Csaba Belenesi you will first hear Prime Minister Jozsef Antall:

[Antall] We came here to assure the population that the government is taking all necessary action. We call the Yugoslav party's attention to our firm protest against the border violations and against the laying of mines. The Hungarian side has so far been extremely restrained in its behavior. This is an intolerable situation, and we cannot tolerate the fact that fighting on Yugoslav territory has spread to Hungary and that they lay mines that affect Hungary when they blow up. We cannot accept that there are military activities, air actions on Yugoslav territory that violate Hungary's air space. We shall do our best to handle this issue in an international way, and we have taken every step to... [changes thought] as well as informing the UN Security Council, similarly including informing the EC. We have said that international organizations can carry out, from the Hungarian side, continuous observations of these military activities.

This does not affect Hungary's wishes to live in good-neighborly relations with every republic, every nation of Yugoslavia. We are especially worried that the Magyar nationality, the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia has become involved against its will in the internal conflict of the Yugoslav peoples.

[Belenesi] During his visit to Barcs, Yugoslav Ambassador Rudi Sova said the following to Hungarian Radio:

[Sova] It is fine that we have seen this, but for the time being we do not know everything that happened. We know that there were explosions, we know that an aircraft flew in, but now we have to investigate where it came from, whose aircraft it was, and what kind of weapon is in question. So far, we have learned that it was some kind of a mine, bomb or grenade thrower of Swedish origin. The Yugoslav People's Army says that the Yugoslav Army did not have and does not have this kind of weapon.

The other issue is that the Yugoslav People's Army did not have any aircraft in this area at that time. Now, these are statements. We have asked, and it seems we agree with our Hungarian friends, that a joint committee or, if needed, with international mediation we examine these facts [sentence as heard].

[Belenesi] Zagreb television allegedly said yesterday, referring to your Military Attache Jusuf Banjica, that he said that it had been the Hungarians who had bombed Barcs.

[Sova] I am certain that Mr. Banjica did not say such a thing.

[Belenesi] I must add that Mr. Banjica denied that he had said such a thing.

[Sova] Of course. It is the facts that have to be examined. One must not (?believe) such things.

Diplomatic Action Taken

LD3010184791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry today took and is taking diplomatic steps in connection with the [Yugoslav air force] incident in Barcs on Sunday. The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry informed MTI that Ambassador Istvan Gyarmati, head of the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna disarmament and confidence-building talks, handed over a written document on the events to the director of the Vienna-based conflict prevention center. The organization has forwarded the document to the other 37 member states taking part in the Helsinki process.

The Hungarian UN representative in New York is also sending a similar document about the events in Barcs to the secretary general of the world organization and to the acting president of the Security Council.

Foreign Affairs Committee 'Anxious'

LD3010205791 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 30 (MTI)—The dangers posed by the escalating Yugoslav civil war prompted an anxious Hungarian Foreign Affairs Committee to issue a statement today.

In the statement, the committee condemned all actions that could be deemed as provocative and hopes European and other democratic countries parliaments quickly help find a reassuring settlement to the Yugoslav war.

Because of the war's escalation and need for regional stability, the committee feels EC member states and the Hague peace conference should immediately assign international observers to the Yugoslav- Hungarian border zone.

The statement came in response to the recent shelling incident at Barcs, Hungary.

Daily Supports Improved Relations With Serbia

AU3010163291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Oct 91 p 3

[MTI report: "MAGYAR SZO: We Would Be the Victims"]

[Text] In relation to the 27 October visit to Budapest of Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, Zoltan Csorba recently wrote in his Vojvodina MAGYAR SZO editorial: A deterioration in Serbian-Hungarian relations does not serve anyone's interests, particularly not the interests of Hungarians in Vojvodina who watch with horror as arrows are shot above their heads from Belgrade and Budapest respectively. In his editorial, Csorba stresses: We would be the first victims, we would be the first to be scorched by the fire of this hatred.

Both sides should be interested in an improvement of relations. From Belgrade, the shortest (and perhaps only) route to Europe passes through Budapest. As for Hungary—which has openly sided with Slovenia and Croatia—it should take into account the consequences that this kind of policy has for Hungarians in Vojvodina. Furthermore, according to the editorial, Budapest should clearly stress that it does not have any territorial claims vis-a-vis its neighbors.

Vojvodina Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic recently criticized MAGYAR SZO's editorial policy in an extremely sharp tone. Bozovic mainly objected to the fact that the paper "published disinformation about the fighting in Croatia." They [the authorities] have threatened to replace the current cadres, and they have even mentioned that "the people spreading these rumors should be arrested." In relation to this, Janos Kubat, chief editor of MAGYAR SZO, said in a statement to MTI that his newspaper was the only daily in the province to adopt an opposition stance, so it is not a coincidence if MAGYAR SZO represents a thorn in the authorities' side.

Problems With Funding of Refugees Reported

AU2910195391 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Oct p 4

["B.K."-signed report: "The 800 Million Forints Are Gone—Chaotic Situation in the Refugee Rights"]

[Text] The amount of 800 million forints earmarked by the state for the support of refugees in Hungary this year has already been spent. The Interior Ministry is asking for 1 billion forints for the 1992 settlement fund, but this has to be approved by the National Assembly. Similar to the previous practice, the deficit will be compensated to the detriment of next year's refugee affairs' budget. We learned all this at a news conference held by the Refugee Affairs Office.

The settlement fund was established in 1988 with the aim to help the foreign citizens living in Hungary for a longer time, namely the refugees. This fund covered their education, health care, administrative fees, and temporary accommodations.

An almost chaotic situation has emerged on evaluating the people eligible for this small aid.

We can generally speak of four groups of people eligible for refugee funds: people who have a refugee status, people waiting for such a status, people who fled from Romania in 1988 and 1989, and people allowed into Hungary on humanitarian grounds, namely the recent refugees from Yugoslavia.

Generally, all these people have valid documents. People fleeing from the Yugoslav civil war and who do not have a valid travel document were also allowed into Hungary on humanitarian grounds; however, some of these people "made use" of the open field to cross the border.

One has to request refugee status within 72 hours of his arrival in Hungary, at the border police or at the competent refugee affairs' body. These bodies will examine whether the request is justified and respond within 30 days. There was hardly any such case along the border with Yugoslavia, because the people who cross the border here would like to return home at the first possible opportunity, and they would not be able to do so if they had refugee status. These people only requested a temporary refugee status, and this is something impossible to define legally.

Many people who came from Romania request Hungarian citizenship or immigrant status, because this way they can visit their homeland anytime and can also settle in Hungary. In addition to large numbers of refugees from Yugoslavia, we provide accommodation to Albanians, Turks, and people coming from the Soviet Union who generally cross the border legally.

According to Judit Toth, deputy head of the Refugee Affairs Committee of the Hungarian Interior Ministry, a refugee law aimed at alleviating the current chaotic situation will be in force in one year at the soonest. In the meantime, we are trying to find sources of aid by maneuvering among the existing regulations, and this is not an easy task. A strange situation emerged in connection with the use of state-owned institutions and services. For example, we must pay value added tax for the use of the former Soviet troops barracks where refugees are now living. By this, the state is robbing Peter to pay Paul, because it also supports refugee affairs in one way or another.

However, in addition to state support, we also get funds from abroad. The regular annual meeting of the UN High Commission on Refugees concluded in Geneva recently, and this meeting dealt with Hungary's difficult situation. As a result, a fact-finding mission visited the refugee camps in Hungary and formulated a draft proposal on minimal needs. Consequently, we will receive considerable aid from Switzerland, the United States, Norway, and Finland this year and in the first half of

1992. In addition, we will continue to receive aid from the International Red Cross and the World Federation of Churches.

There is a great need for this aid because the operation of the refugee camp in Nagyatad alone, at two-thirds of its capacity, costs us 15 million forints monthly!

Entz on Status of Expatriates in Eastern Europe

AU2910201991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Oct 91 p 3

[MTI report: "Geza Entz' Statement—There Is No Reason for Optimism"]

[Text] Two years after the political changes in Eastern Europe, Hungary has no reason to evaluate the conditions of the 3.5 million Hungarians living in the neighboring countries more positively—this is how the Austrian Press Agency summed up the essence of its long interview with Geza Entz, state secretary at the Prime Ministers' Office, an interview made public on 27 October.

According to APA, Geza Entz primarily accused Romania of delaying the solution of serious problems through its "policy of open hatred of foreigners." However, according to Geza Entz, there is no reason for optimism in connection with the Hungarians living in Slovakia and Vojvodina either.

Geza Entz said that the 2 million Hungarians living in Transylvania cannot hope for an improvement in their situation. There has been no real change in the regime in Romania, and no local government elections have been held there yet. There is no positive program on solving the national minorities issue, and Bucharest's unbalanced policy only increases the state of uncertainty. Geza Entz confirmed that Hungary does not have territorial demands on Romania, but Hungary wants ethnic Hungarians to be able to live freely in Romania. Geza Entz thinks that constitutional guarantees for the protection of national minorities are essential, and so is equal treatment in carrying out privatization. Hungarians were discriminated against primarily during the distribution of agricultural land. There is no local autonomy in Romania and, therefore, the national minorities there do not receive financial support for developing their political structures.

According to Geza Entz, the situation of the 700,000 Hungarians living in Slovakia is better, but not decisively better. Slovakia also lacks the constitutional basis of national minority protection, and the relevant Slovak plans do not stipulate the possibility of interference in these matters on the part of the Hungarians there. Hungarian parties in Slovakia cannot count on the joint draft they submitted being accepted, and all this makes the situation of national minorities there uncertain.

According to Geza Entz, the relations between Hungarians and Slovaks are good in mixed villages, and the anti-Hungarian campaign is incited from northern Slovakia, where there are no Hungarians at all. Comparing the situation with that prevailing in Romania, the fact that the Slovak Government does not base its policy on chauvinism is an important difference. The CSFR goals are recognizable much more clearly, and solutions can also be imagined more easily.

Kadar Discusses European Trade Prospects

AU3010190791 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Oct 91 p 9

["H.L"-signed interview with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar; place and date not given: "We Continue To Be Attractive for Foreign Capital"]

[Text] We could stabilize our trade positions on the EC market next year, Bela Kadar told us after giving an introductory lecture at the Europe '93 international conference. The two-day conference held by the Budapest Trade and Industry Chamber will deal mainly with the challenge facing Hungary as a result of the upcoming unified European market.

We asked the head of the Ministry of International Economic Relations whether he could tell anything promising to his audience made up mostly of entrepreneurs:

[Kadar] We largely succeeded in achieving the goal we set for ourselves one and a half years ago, namely the diversification of our foreign economic relations. We carried two-thirds of our foreign trade turnover with the EC and the EFTA countries in the first nine months of this year. Our expected EC partnership contract at the beginning of 1992 will also help us preserve our position next year. In the coming few years, we will have to endeavor as best we can to make use of the advantages of asymmetric regulations, primarily the fact that we will only have to compensate for the customs reductions for our exports with similar steps in our imports after 1995. At the same time, this partnership agreement will only provide the framework, and exporters will have to adjust to the EC trade, customs, quality, and health regulations.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] Foreign investors continue to complain about bureaucracy in trade relations. Could the Ministry of International Economic Relations help in this area?

[Kadar] Our ministry does not have real authority to influence these matters. Our ministry's main task is to provide adequate information to foreign investors. This ministry has a 1.5 billion forint investment fund for this year, and we will mainly use it to fill the infrastructure gaps criticized by foreigners.

It is a fact that, for the time being, the start of various ventures is slower in Hungary than in economically developed countries, but it is still simpler than in other countries in our region. Foreign capital worth $1 billion flowed into Hungary in one year, and this is equivalent

to 3 percent of our GDP. This is considerable, even on the basis of international statistics. In addition, we cannot disregard the fact that this process is taking place in an historically unknown situation, when we are privatizing an overcentralized and state-owned economy.

EBRD Chairman Views Investment Opportunities

AU3110093191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with Jacques Attali, chairman of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, by Veronika R. Hahn and Istvan Zalai in London in October 1991: "A Bank That Brings Us Closer to Europe"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [NEPSZABADSAG] One of the basic principles of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] is to grant no less than 5 million European Currency Units within the framework of one project. This is not too good for Hungary because $5 million is too large a sum for small and medium-sized enterprises. Could you not modify this principle?

[Attali] We do not wish to modify this doctrine, because we do not want to be a small bank. However, there is a compromise solution: We can team up with others (even local banks and foundations) who can invest smaller sums of money. [passage omitted]

We will shortly be opening our representation office in Hungary, and it will have the authorization to decide on joint investments with other financial institutions, on the basis of local experience. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Over the last six months, Hungary has received relatively little help from the EBRD. In practice, only one project has come to fruition, namely a $6 million investment in the Petofi Printing Press in Kecskemet (an agreement to be signed very soon). Six months ago, Budapest attached great hopes to the EBRD. Since then, illusions have been replaced by a certain amount of disappointment. Do you think that these feelings are justified?

[Attali] I understand this; everyone knows that we have considerable sums at our disposal ($13-$14 million), but we have to find good plans for investments. In other words, we have also been disappointed because we simply did not find any realistic, good projects. One needs time for that. I cannot give you any confidential information, but over the next 12 months, we plan to invest a lot of money in Hungary. Naturally, to decide on an investment, we need to know that the money will not be lost.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your opinion on Hungary's capacity and preparedness to absorb capital? Such factors are essential for investments.

[Attali] I think that from that point of view, Hungary belongs to the first class (to use sports jargon). It has the necessary willingness and expert knowledge, both in the private and in the state sector. We are in daily contact with Budapest, and we have employees in the development bank and in the trade department who deal directly with Hungary or with the companies in Hungary that are interested in investments. Furthermore, we provide technical assistance to improve Hungary's global macroeconomic structure, and if there are concrete requests, we can also give advice on international affairs.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How European is the bank, in actual fact? Will the dramatic clashes and passions in Eastern and Central Europe remain outside the EBRD's walls?

[Attali] My answer is simple: Here, we cannot sense any of that. This bank is an international institution, and it is not just European from a geographical point of view.

Kupa Holds News Conference on IMF Meeting

AU2910091691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Oct 91 p 1

["Cs.K.K."-signed report: "The Kupa Program Should Be Accelerated"]

[Text] We can only envisage convertibility in Hungary that does not hurt our economic stability. Therefore, even at the end of 1992, anyone who wants to invest capital abroad will have to ask for permission from the Hungarian National Bank. This was what Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa had to say at a news conference held at Ferihegy Airport [in Budapest] on 24 October.

Mihaly Kupa also said that the IMF and the World Bank objected to the fact that no changes are taking place in our social security system. In addition, the IMF leaders continued to point out that Hungary's budget deficit for 1992 should stay between 60-80 billion forints if Hungary wants to get further loans under the conditions stipulated in the three-year loan agreement. According to Mihaly Kupa, the IMF is only willing to accept a 90 billion forint deficit for this year. Mihaly Kupa declared that we should regard the many appreciative words addressed to Hungary by international financial organizations lately with reservations. According to Mihaly Kupa, we will only be able to feel contented if this positive opinion about Hungary remains the same next year.

Reacting to the latest declarations made by the opposition, Mihaly Kupa pointed out that next year's budget would not be a poverty budget, but one that adjusts to the changed economic policy conditions. Speaking about the Kupa program, the finance minister pointed out that we should definitely accelerate the implementation of this program, primarily as far as the development of the infrastructure is concerned.

Mandates of Smallholders' Party Leaders Expires

LD3010231791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The leaders of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] have decided that the mandates the Smallholders' ministers and state secretaries received from the party will expire at midnight on 31 October. [passage omitted]

The party's leading bodies suspended the party membership of government members Ferenc Jozsef Nagy [minister without portfolio], Zsolt Rajkai [political state secretary for transport and telecommunications], and Istvan Pohankovits [political state secretary for industry and commerce]. They also expelled Miklos Omolnar and Istvan Prepeliczay from the party.

A party investigation was launched against Minister of Labor Gyula Kiss, because of his alleged membership in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The Minister has denied this. [passage omitted]

Party Chairman Jozsef Torgyan said that at the coalition talks, new ministries will be requested for the Smallholders' Party, but he denied that the coalition might be threatened by a breakup. He also announced that he will not withdraw his complaint lodged against Jozsef Antall and three ministers.

Antall Visit to Brussels

WA3010183191

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to Brussels, including reports on his talks with NATO and EC officials, please see the International Affairs section of the 28 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Government Ministers' Election Outcomes Reported

LD3010181391 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The majority of ministers from the government of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki who ran in Sunday's general elections won seats in Parliament.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki himself won a seat from the Warsaw district. According to unofficial data, the following ministers have also been elected: Wieslaw Chrzanowski (justice), Adam Glapinski (construction and town planning), Janusz Lewandowski (privatisation), Jerzy Eysymontt (central planning office), Andrzej Zarebski (government press spokesman).

Defeated in their home constituencies were Ministers Michal Boni (labour) and Krzysztof Zabinski (chief of staff of the Cabinet). However, they both have good chances of winning seats from the so-called National List.

Another loser is Jerzy Slezak (communications).

Two of the ministers who ran for senators and lost are Ewaryst Waligorski (transportation) and Robert Glebocki (education).

14 deputy ministers and other high-ranking government officials also fought for parliamentary mandates. Among the winners is Janusz Onyszkiewicz (defense), while among the losers is Krystyna Sienkiewicz (health).

KLD Willing To Participate in Coalition

LD3010225491 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—The leader of the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] Donald Tusk said here Wednesday that his party would take part in a coalition government formed by post-Solidarity groups, without ex-communists and the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN).

He said the grand post-Solidarity coalition was attractive and more likely than even a few days ago.

The proposal of President Walesa becoming also the prime minister should not be understood literally, Tusk maintained, explaining that its true meaning boiled down to Walesa's accepting responsibility for the forming of a new cabinet.

Tusk added that three of the four different proposals put forward by the president implied the danger of "creating political facts outside Parliament" only several days after the first free parliamentary elections in Poland.

Tusk revealed that his party held preliminary talks with leaders of the Centre Alliance which, following a possible merger with the Catholic action, would be the strongest parliamentary faction in the new Sejm. The Congress would also hold talks with leader of the Democratic Union Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and representatives of smaller groups sharing the Congress' views.

The Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) considers the idea of the president becoming also the prime minister as "risky," since as chief of the government that would make unpopular decisions he would risk losing his social prestige.

Speaking for the KPN, Krzysztof Krol said also that including the Social Democratic Party (ex-Communists) in the Cabinet was out of the question.

Finally, Krol did not rule out his Party's participation in a presidential government if one was formed.

A somewhat similar approach was presented by the Party "X" of Stanislaw Tyminski. Commenting on President Lech Walesa's proposals of a new cabinet, party "X" official Jozef Kossecki stressed that the president should remain an authority above the political parties and therefore should not combine his function with that of a prime minister.

Kossecki termed such a combination of roles as "very dangerous."

Party "X", which won only 3 seats in the new Sejm, considers attempts at "bringing together a government of this sort or other pitiable." The only real solution would be to hold new elections, this time "honest and free from manipulations."

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Election Results

PM3110111491 Paris LIBERATION in French 29 Oct 91 pp 2-3

[Interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, former Polish prime minister and chairman of the Democratic Union, by Veronique Soule in Warsaw; date not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, prime minister from August 1989 to December 1990, is now one of the main figures in the political imbroglio created by Sunday's election results. As chairman of the Democratic Union, the party that placed first, he has the very delicate mission of trying to find a parliamentary coalition that would support the future government.

[Soule] Are you prepared to be the new prime minister?

[Mazowiecki] We are prepared to discuss the possibility of creating a majority coalition. These discussions will certainly be difficult. It is only if such a lasting majority is formed that I will be able to take on that role.

[Soule] Do you really think you can arrive at a coalition?

[Mazowiecki] The whole question is whether there will be a greater sense of responsibility or whether the aggressive and extreme statements, accusations, and exaggeration of disagreements continue. That is not up to us.

[Soule] Several post-Solidarity parties with which you intend to negotiate are demanding decommunization. Do you agree with that?

[Mazowiecki] The law in a civilized country only recognizes one kind of responsibility—individual rather than collective responsibility.

[Soule] You are therefore opposed to that?

[Mazowiecki] I have given an answer. And I think that the result of the elections (a reference to the resurgence of the post-Communists—LIBERATION editor's note) is a step in the direction I have indicated.

[Soule] Those same post-Solidarity parties are demanding a recovery policy. Are you prepared to introduce such a policy?

[Mazowiecki] We think it is very important to maintain the value of the Polish currency (one of the successes of the Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz's plan—LIBERATION editor's note). And I do not intend to abandon that now. The elections may prompt various movements on the market and even spark off a wave of panic and risk-reviving inflation. Of course, we must examine the possibility of taking measures to combat the recession, but not at the cost of a return to hyperinflation. I, therefore, only see a possibility of agreement if the parties who made glib promises during the campaign decide to behave responsibly.

[Soule] Is it still possible to pursue the Balcerowicz plan?

[Mazowiecki] It is very difficult. But I think that we must try and that a sense of responsibility dictates that.

[Soule] The majority of parliamentary parties are hostile to the policies of Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz. Does that mean that he will go?

[Mazowiecki] It is not a problem of personalities. We are not joining the chorus of attacks on Balcerowicz; if he ceased to play a part in political and economic life, that would be a loss. But it is a question of programs.

[Soule] The post-communists have put forward the hypothesis of an alliance with you. What do you think of that?

[Mazowiecki] The Democratic Left Alliance (the election coalition formed around the former Communist Party—LIBERATION editor's note) has carried out a demagogic campaign, explaining that the deterioration in living conditions was the result of the policy of the past two years and not the result of this communist legacy, and it is difficult to imagine the Alliance continuing with the reforms. In addition, such a coalition would be psychologically and morally unacceptable to our supporters.

[Soule] But do you not feel closer to the Social Democrats than to the Catholic Action fundamentalists?

[Mazowiecki] You must not forget that there is still a great gulf between the parties that emerged from the old system and those that emerged from the opposition.

[Soule] The Democratic Union seems divided about the possibility of returning to government. Is there not a risk of it breaking up?

[Mazowiecki] No, the Union will not split on that point because we will only shoulder this responsibility if the right conditions are met.

[Soule] How do you explain your disappointing score?

[Mazowiecki] Virtually all the parties, even the Liberals, although less openly, attacked the Union during the campaign.

[Soule] You have, nonetheless, lost votes compared with the presidential election.

[Mazowiecki] Yes. But is it possible to make simple comparisons between the presidential and parliamentary elections? On the other hand, we can congratulate ourselves on the support we have from the younger generation.

[Soule] How do you explain the post-communists' good score?

[Mazowiecki] In my view, it should be seen as the effect of the threatening atmosphere created before the elections around people connected with that movement, people who were formerly members of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] (the Communist Party under the communist regime—LIBERATION editor's note).

[Soule] How do you interpret the very high abstention rate?

[Mazowiecki] It is the expression of the public's disenchantment with the whole Polish political scene, because of its lack of clarity, its internal quarrels, its aggressiveness, and so forth. And it is also a reflection of the difficult material situation faced by the people who have not yet adequately adopted democratic behavior and who are wondering what a voting slip can bring them and who conclude that it will not change anything.

[Soule] What was the Church's influence on the campaign?

[Mazowiecki] You say the Church; I would talk of some priests and churchmen, and that is not the same thing. The attitude of the episcopate, which was expressed publicly, was clear and open (stating that it would not advise people on which party to vote for—LIBERATION editor's note). Unfortunately, a large section of the clergy took sides and there were very hostile demonstrations against the Democratic Union. That pains me greatly. And I think that that involvement was not a good thing for the Church itself.

[Soule] How do you view President Walesa's role?

[Mazowiecki] Will President Walesa act in such a way that this state remains governable and that everything that was accomplished over the past two years is not wiped out? That is the great issue.

[Soule] Do you fear a dictatorship?

[Mazowiecki] I fear chaos more.

[Soule] Finally, would it not be better to hold new elections based on a better electoral law?

[Mazowiecki] First, we must have that better electoral law, and only Parliament can adopt it. In addition, because the problems will not be solved in the intervening period, the electoral results would be uncertain. This is, therefore, merely theoretical.

Considering Proposals

LD3010205791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Following the conversation with President Lech Walesa, Democratic Union Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki told journalists that the president, considering himself as the person most responsible for the solution of the difficult situation, presented a number of concepts that should be calmly considered.

And here is what Krzysztof (?Sosinski) from the Democratic Union press office told us:

[Begin Sosinski recording] At the moment, I can only say that Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Union, as well as other leaders of the Union, have been considering the proposals put forward by the president, and that he has been holding talks with other political parties. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Parties React to Walesa's Government Options

LD3110105291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The first reactions to the options presented by the president to form a government have been reported. Donald Tusk, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Congress, has said his party accepted the possibility of entering a coalition government, but only without the participation of communists and the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

Krzysztof Krol, a Confederation leader, said his party thought the possibility of the president performing the function of prime minister was risky. Krol did not rule out the possibilty that the Confederation might take part in a presidential government if one is created.

In Lodz, one of the leaders of Social Democracy, Leszek Miller, said there will be no place for his party in a coalition. In his opinion, the new government will be created from the various groups linked by the word Solidarity.

Jan Olszewski, deputy chairman of the Center Alliance, said the president's proposals concerning the creation of a government referred to a possible, but currently nonexistent, situation. The lawyer Olszewski announced that the Alliance was holding consultations aimed at reaching agreement on the activities of groups, which in the conditions of the future parliament, will form the Center Right.

Geremek on Walesa's Offer To Be Prime Minister

AU3110090491 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek of the Democratic Union by Jochen Bendele; place and date not given—recorded; Geremek statements in French with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] [Bendele] The first freely elected Parliament consists of 18 groups, none of which has more than 13 percent of the votes. In this unclear situation, State President Lech Walesa has proposed to take over the office of prime minister, in addition to his own office. What do you think of this idea?

[Geremek] This proposal does have advantages, but it has the great weakness that there would then be no alternative. If the president were the prime minister at the same time, power would be worn down.

[Bendele] You are chairman of the constitutional committee that is dealing with this issue, among other things. What do you suggest?

[Geremek] I think that a parliamentary democracy, in which the rights of the president and the government are set down exactly, with a strong government, where there is a means of constructive suspicion—such as in the FRG—and in which the prime minister has a position similar to the heads of governments in Germany, Austria, and Great Britain, would be the best solution for Poland. In all countries that are in a period of transition from communism to democracy, it is not only important to clearly define political power, but also to make the citizens participate in political life. If we look at how many people did not vote, we realize that this has reached an alarming degree. I think that parliamentary democracy provides the most opportunities for the citizens. Therefore, I am for a parliamentary democracy, with the power of the president being the supreme arbiter in all social and political issues.

[Bendele] Spokesmen for Parliament and for the parties said that the voter—and, above all, those who did not vote—gave out a signal of despair and that this election does not have any winners, but only one loser, namely the Polish people.

[Geremek] I think that the elections were a success for the young Polish democracy. I do not think that the

Polish people lost. One simply has to accept the people's will and not try to be smarter than the people.

Paper on Walesa's Offer

LD3110061191 Warsaw PAP in English 0017 GMT 31 Oct 91

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 31 Oct—[passage omitted] In a bitterly critical commentary Editor in Chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA Adam Michnik writes that Lech Walesa's declaration of readiness to become prime minister is interesting and worth of reflection. Lech Walesa is a leader of the group which a year ago won the presidential election and, at the same time, he is the only potential prime minister who, when doing his duties, can expect full loyalty of the president and his chancellery. "Where there is real power, there should also be real responsibility," Michnik writes. Michnik warns against the risks associated with one person having too much power and he requires that Walesa as candidate for premiership must first answer a number of questions, among them, concerning the guaranteed two-year term, the powers of such a government, its intended economic and political programme, finally whether Poland would evolve into a state of law or of martial law. "Public opinion has the right to demand such answers in advance," Michnik declares.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Agreement With U.S.

AU3010204991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/10/1991—The new commercial agreement between the Governments of Romania and the United States of America, initialed on October 28 in Washington, contains, besides the mutual unconditioned granting of the most favoured nation status, a number of detailed provisions as regards the intellectual property, the spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Secretary of State Teodor Melescanu said at the October 30 news conference.

Until the procedures for ratifying this agreement are completed, which the two parties have pledged to do as soon as possible, added Mr. Melescanu, the former agreement, prolonged last year until 1993, is still in force.

Speaking of the results of the official visit the foreign minister Adrian Nastase made in the Republic of Korea, the secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry said that the head of the Romanian diplomacy had presented several concrete projects of cooperation between Romanian and South Korean firms, first of all on the revamping and modernisation of the production of the branches of machine and ship building, and the pharmaceutical industry.

Next, Mr. Teodor Melescanu referred to other diplomatic actions, some of them recently closed, others scheduled for the near future.

A delegation of the Western European Union, headed by its general-secretary, Willem van Eekelen, will pay an information and documentation visit to Romania over November 3-5.

A Romanian delegation, led by Mr. Ionel V. Sandulescu, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, will host, over November 4-15, a seminar of experts under the aegis of CSCE, intended to analyse ways and means of consolidating democratic institutions in the participating countries.

Negotiations were held over October 24-25, at the level of experts, with the Republic of Bulgaria, in view of the conclusion of a treaty of friendship, cooperation and good neighbourliness. Most provisions were agreed on, and a second round is going to be held to clarify the last stipulations. The text of the treaty focuses on bilateral cooperation in Europe, in the Balkans, the protection of the environment, cooperation in the Black Sea area.

On the basis of what was agreed last month, on the occasion of the visit the Romanian foreign minister paid to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, a delegation of Romanian experts of the Foreign Ministry made a visit over October 21-26, in the capitals of the three Baltic states to present drafts of bilateral documents proposed to be concluded between Romania and the Baltic states, i.e. treaties of friendship and cooperation, consular conventions, agreements of cultural and scientific cooperation. The parties agreed that the negotiations of these acts start very soon. Issues were tackled referring to an exchange of diplomatic representatives to ensure a permanent contact and to solve bilateral problems, including those concerning the meeting of the necessary requirements for the opening of diplomatic and consular offices in these states. The opening of an embassy in one of the Baltic republics is planned for the near future, to ensure permanent ties with the three states.

As concerns the abduction in New Delhi, of the Romanian diplomatist Liviu Radu by extremist Sikhs, the secretary of state Teodor Melescanu announced that the Indian party had officially confirmed for the first time that he was in good health.

PNL's Sandulescu: USSR Treaty To Be Renegotiated

AU3010172891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1618 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/10/1991—The National Liberal Party's [PNL] joining the government has no political character, does not mean a political alliance with the National Salvation Front [FSN] but a wish to help this country surmount such difficult moments, stated Ionel V. Sandulescu, PNL vice-president, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, in an interview with the foreign affairs daily "JURNAL INTERNATIONAL."

Referring to the directions of action necessary to hasten Romania's getting closer to the West and, first of all, to the European Community structures, the Romanian dignitary specified: We should like to reopen all the negotiation processes closed at a given time for various reasons. The recent meeting with the United States' ambassador to Bucharest has been a first plea for a new foreign policy and an attempt to create a new image of Romania's situation. Romania's foreign policy is made here, in Romania, function of its home policy.

In connection with the Romanian developments in the context of the current openings in Eastern Europe Mr. Sandulescu showed that all countries in this area were tormented by internal convulsions the evolution and effects of which cannot be known yet. What can be said, however, is that states in this area went into association and they do not include Romania. We must make efforts to remind everybody we also are in Europe, we belong to it and nobody can ignore this. The solutions we must seek should bring us closer to it and not farther, said Mr. Sandulescu. In another sequence of ideas the treaty with the Soviet Union will be negotiated again in accordance with the new realities in Romania and the USSR, he mentioned.

Sandulescu on PNL in Cabinet

AU3010204591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/10/1991—"By joining the government we pursued the entrenchment of social peace in Romania, the development of a climate of confidence in the government and also more credibility on an external plane,"

stated Ionel V. Sandulescu, secretary of state with the Romanian Foreign Ministry, speaking at the weekly news briefing of the ministry about the reasons why the PNL [National Liberal Party] accepted to join the new government. "We have had various signals and learned also from direct contacts, both in Europe and in the U.S., that the previous government did not represent a real democracy, that the first real step that would be taken toward a democratic government would be a government to comprise also the opposition. Starting from these reasons, from the wish to change Romania's image, we will make every effort, will use every connection we have in order to let fresh air in our country too, so as to be able to return to a normal life.

"We also joined the government pursuing to have free elections next, and an election campaign conducted in normal conditions. We want to see to it that the two campaigns—for local and general elections—be conducted as normal as can and the elections proper should be as fair as possible. In this connection, one of the terms we stuck to during our negotiations with the National Salvation Front and with Prime Minister Stolojan for the formation of the government, was the setting up of a local administration department to break the old communist structures or the neo-communist ones. The thorny point was who was to head that department, as is known that the return of the parliamentary elections depends a lot upon the returns of local elections. Long negotiations resulted in the solution that it be headed by two secretaries of state, with absolutely equal rights—one belonging to the FSN and the other to the PNL—directly dependent upon the prime minister who should arbitrate possible arguments between them.

"Another reason why we joined the government was to press it for the titles of property to be handed over the soonest to the farmers who received land, so that they may be sure the land is theirs and start working it."

Fota on Privatization, Leu's Convertibility

AU2910153491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1000 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1991—Faster privatization in trade and tourism is a priority to be achieved by further leasing space and by selling assets and shares, Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota told a news conference on October 28. He announced that the lists with the units whose assets or shares are to be sold will be published at least one month before the auction, a general transparency of this process being thus ensured. As for tariffs in tourism, the price policy to be promoted will take into account foreign market prices. It was also decided that a special bank for tourism and home trade be set up as the companies do not have the necessary development funds.

Minister Fota assessed the ensuing period as particularly difficult as regards the supply with both raw materials and foodstuffs. In the energy sector steps are taken to maintain the deliveries from the Soviet Union: natural gas—15 million cubic meters daily. Also in view is the resumption of deliveries of electric energy, suspended over the past two months owing to transit technical problems in the Ukraine.

Special attention is paid to purchasing a large quantity of black oil to ensure a minimal stock for thermal power stations. The country's own hard currency resources were resorted to this end and several countries like Syria, Iran, Libya, Egypt, were requested to deliver black oil to the account of their debts to Romania.

The Common Market was requested to support Romania in importing farm produce and foodstuffs.

Alongside the steps taken at a governmental level, economic agents have been encouraged to get more involved in importing scarce products.

The unification of the exchange rates of the leu, promotion of exports, new customs tariffs, elimination of import-export licenses, management of imbalanced supplies of consumer goods, sales of assets and shares in home trade and tourism, the tourism rate policy were the main themes covered by Romania's Trade and Tourism Minister Constantin Fota at a news conference on 28 October.

Showing that the unification of the exchange rates of the leu was a major concern of the current cabinet, the minister said the sooner it was achieved, the better. In his opinion, the dual exchange rate explains also the reluctance of economic agents to export and the expectant attitude of foreign investors [words indistinct].

On the level at which it should be done, he said a thorough economic study ought to supply the answer, since on it the whole course of the future economic activity depends. In his opinion it should be based on hard facts, unlike the current official rate or the inter-bank rate. He said the rate of exchange should not only have a sound economic basis but also take into the account the amount of hard-currency reserves of the country. For that rate to be as low as possible, the amount should be equal to the country's balance-of-trade deficit by the time the rate is unified. Which means some two billion U.S. dollars, which is out of the question. We can borrow 500 million U.S. dollars or so, Mr. Fota said.

On the implications of the unification of the exchange rates of the leu, the minister announced preferential terms for exports, higher prices for imports, hence a rise in all domestic prices. If the unification occurs some time soon, the government must re-think its decision to freeze prices for three months and correlate them with social protection measures. "Unification is unavoidable, or else the whole economic process and economic reform is a mess, the Romanian trade and tourism minister said.

New customs tariffs will take effect as of 1 January 1992, Romanian Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota told a news conference on 28 October, and added that it would include such rates as were negotiated with GATT. Taxes will effectively be lowered and. Commercial considerations only will be taken into account in

deciding to import, he said. Licensing for import will be simplified and the procedure will be retained only for particular classes of commodities.

A temporary elimination of customs tariffs for basic consumer goods are planned for the period ahead. As concerns exports, permits will be easier to get. Export licenses will be maintained only in exceptional cases, as part of clearing and barter deals or for the liquidation of debts, a substantial rise of export quotas is planned, but certain exports—such as meat, fruit—may well be banned.

Another topical problem of Romania's foreign trade is its association with the Common Market and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. Since big reservations of the Common Market are yet to be overcome, association with the EFTA should be spurred. In that way, Romania can engage in trade with the Common Market countries.

Fota Comments on New Regulations for USSR Trade

AU2910161391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/10/1991—In their trade and cooperation with the USSR in 1992 Romanian economic agents should consider that with the coming into force of the Treaty on the Economic Community of Independent States, which remain and were the subjects of the USSR, commercial conventions will be negotiated and concluded directly with each member state of the community, the signing of understandings with groups of member states being also possible.

Besides payments in convertible currency discounts on a clearing basis will be allowed.

In connection with the investment projects implemented in the territory of the former USSR, they will have to be regulated with the member states of the Economic Community in whose territory those projects are carried through.

In this context, the minister of trade and tourism of Romania will intensify actions to provide the necessary legal framework and conclude commercial and payments agreements for the development of trade and cooperation with the former republics of the USSR and for the regulation of problems deriving from accords and conventions concluded with the USSR and being implemented at present, Constantin Fota, trade and tourism minister, said during a press conference held at the headquarters of the ministry.

Finance Minister Views Aims of Monetary Policy

AU2610143291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0835 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/10/1991—Answering a ROMPRES writer's question about the coordinates of the fiscal and monetary policy of the new government, the Romanian minister of economy and finance, Mr. George Danielescu, said a restrictive monetary policy could not fully counteract the effects of economic recession.

"The major aim of a strict monetary policy in all market-economy countries is to control inflation. But such a policy primarily means limited access to credits. And limited access to credits means limited investment, which places limits on the growth of the production capacity," Mr. Danielescu said.

The economy and finance minister admitted Romania went through a period of economic recession, as shown by data on the dynamics of the national product, but he said that recession occurred against the background of economic restructuring and showed that it would take another two or three years before the sectors of the national economy were resettled.

"It is my opinion that what we should do in this period is not only promote monetary restrictions but also further the fiscal policy and use external credits efficiently through an overall financial policy coordinated by the government," Mr. George Danielescu added.

Voican Hands Over 'Proof' of Alleged Coup Attempt

AU3010184491 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 25 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Cristina Trepcea interview with Senator Gelu Voican-Voiculescu; place and date not given: "The Price of Unmasking Was To Forewarn the Guilty Ones!"]

[Excerpts] [Trepcea] Mr. Senator Voican, what is new in the trial of "black lists"?

[Voican] First of all, I would like to point out that there is no "trial of black lists." I have already said that these "lists" must be understood as intentional ones, more as an expression of a state of mind than a mysterious document intercepted along the line. As a matter of fact, it goes without saying that there was no need to write down the names of persons meant to be liquidated. Everything belongs to the realm of hypothesis and the probable. Of course, there was such a project and list of names. The whole series of attacks I referred to was only part of an operation, of a larger scale plan.

[Trepcea] Following your speech in Parliament, the Prosecutor's Office opened a penal case.

[Voican] The Prosecutor's Office, considering itself officially notified as of that moment, has started an investigation to elucidate the causes of the September 1991 events and establish the share of responsibitity of the guilty ones and the perpetrators and the moral authors of the unrest.

[Trepcea] What did you hand over to the Prosecutor's Office?

[Voican] "Hand over" is not the right word. I put the informative material at the basis my speech in Parliament at the disposal of the legal organs.

[Trepcea] What kind of material is that?

[Voican] Factual material, documented by statements, proof (that is now being examined by the Prosecutor's Office organs), videocassettes, audio tapes, and various other elements and clues which can help the enquiry. [passage omitted] Already, my disclosures in Parliament facilitated the wiping out of many clues and the fabrication of enough alibis. The price of unmasking was to forewarn the guilty ones. Of course, I presented only generalities at that time, omitting many things and a whole number of details, all of which I now handed over to the Prosecutor's Office. In order to ensure the efficiency of the investigations, it is necessary that nothing be disclosed in public from now on. [passage omitted]

[Trepcea] Have you received additional threats?

[Voican] No. That would be the most telling confirmation of the truth of my allegations. The involved parties cannot be that stupid!

Daily Reviews Economic 'Decline', Publishes Data

AU2510165391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1210 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/10/1991—Daily CURIERUL NATIONAL assesses that the Romanian economy records an almost continuous decline, matched by inflation, unemployment, payment imbalances. To sustain this opinion, the paper publishes the following data: Industrial production in September was less than 70 per cent of the monthly average of 1989, and in the first nine months of 1991 it was by 17.7 per cent smaller than in the same period of 1990. The major problem is a further drop in production with some basic energy sources. Coal extraction and dressing only reached 84.5 per cent of the level recorded in the first nine months of 1990, crude and natural gas extraction—84.3 per cent and electricity and thermal energy production—82.5 per cent. To say nothing of the drop in the import of such energy sources.

The social effects of the economic evolution have shown already, the daily mentions, adding that the retail goods sales in the first nine months of this year were 27.4 per cent below the level of the same period of 1990, and the value of commercial services was 8.7 per cent smaller. The real salary dropped almost 19 per cent as to last year's October, while the nominal salary rose almost 2.6 times. As a matter of fact, the average nominal salary rose in September (from 236.7 per cent in August to some 260 per cent in September, both as compared with October 1990) rather as a result of indexation or as a result of the granting of certain claims than of a positive evolution of the turnover. Meanwhile the number of unemployed rose to 182,500, plus 76,804 who ask for jobs.

Industrial Production Plummets, Budget Deficit Up

AU2410121591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/10/1991—Under the above headline, the newspaper "CURIERUL NATIONAL" writes inter alia: "There is a report of the National Statistics Board on the Romanian prime minister's desk which shows the results of the first nine months of the ongoing year. In September 1991 the consumer price index stood at 319.4 percent. Broken-out percentages are as follows: 352.9 percent for food, 323.6 percent for commodities and 240 percent for services. At the same time, the nominal wage index in September was of 259.2 percent. Hence, a 19-percent drop in real wages. As for industrial production, achievements in September 1991 account for 82.9 percent of those of September 1990 and of only 58.7 percent of those of the same month in 1989. Furthermore, salaries went up. As compared with October 1990 the net nominal salary index in September 1991 was of 259.2 in industry, 261.3 in construction and 274.7 in transport.

Following the 55.76-percent rise in spending from the state budget, Romania's budget deficit this year—possible spending on salary claims with no support in production activities and productivity notwithstanding—will increase from 37.3 billion lei to 72.8 billion lei, which will have negative effects on future investment activities.

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International

Serbia's Draskovic Says Russia Cannot Help Serbs

LD3110001291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Serbian Renaissance Movement (SPO), led by Vuk Draskovic, returned from a six-day visit to Moscow with the message: "We should abandon the illusions that Russia, such as it is, could help the Serbian side."

Judging by the impressions conveyed to journalists at Belgrade Airport this evening, Draskovic's "Moscow luggage" was full of gloom, as he himself described it.

The SPO delegation had meetings with several eminent Moscow and Russian politicians, above all with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy of Russia; Ruslan Khasbulatov, the newly elected president of the Russian parliament; and former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Draskovic pointed out that "his interlocutors feared the Yugoslavization of the USSR enormously," especially the possibility that the fire in Yugoslavia could spread to the already tense relationship between the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

At Draskovic's request that Shevardnadze should become involved in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, the latter replied that he has set up a commission of experts for Serbo-Croatian questions, given that he had been approached with the same request by James Baker and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

However, Draskovic himself stresses that it would be both conceited and incorrect if he were to say that one should expect his visit to Moscow to have a positive effect. Russia's stand—that "the Hague verdict" is dishonest regarding the Serbian people—had been previously adopted, the SPO leader said, and I therefore had no particular need to discuss it with Rutskoy.

As for his other impressions, Draskovic singled out "resolute and rational moves of the Russian leadership, unlike those of the Serbian leadership."

"In many things, such as, for instance, an announcement about the founding of a Russian guard and possibly, of a Russian Army, Yeltsin is acting as if he were the president of the SPO," Vuk Draskovic said in conclusion.

Macedonia's Gligorov Pays Working Visit to Italy

AU3110095491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, is paying a working visit to Italy today and tomorrow. This afternoon he met with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis. The talks focused on Macedonia's views on the situation in Yugoslavia after the last meeting of the republican presidents in The Hague.

President Gligorov stressed that if no agreement is reached, Macedonia will demand to be recognized and is ready to carry out all its obligations as an independent and sovereign state. The Italian side supported Macedonia's peace-loving policies and expressed its readiness to help the position that would be approved by the international public and neighbors. As stressed, Italy will soon open a general consulate in Skopje, which could eventually become an embassy.

During the talks, De Michelis said that the constructive and sensible policy conducted by the Macedonian leadership is highly appreciated. President Gligorov held a news conference at noon. Tomorrow he is due to meet the pope.

MiG-21 Pilot Returns to Croatia 29 Oct

AU3010203391 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Rudolf Perisin, the Croatian MiG pilot, left Carinthia for Croatia last night. He had escaped to Klagenfurt in a MiG-21 of the Yugoslav Air Force on 25 October. The aircraft will remain in Austria. Belgrade and Croatia have demanded that it be handed over. The Foreign Ministry in Vienna told the Yugoslav authorities today that the MiG-21 will only be released if an effective and lasting cease-fire is reached in Yugoslavia, and if the problem has been clarified as to who can claim the aircraft.

Modified Integration Model Proposed at Hague

AU3010202691 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Nebojsa Jankovic report from The Hague]

[Text] On the eve of the plenary session scheduled for next Tuesday [5 November], the Economic Commission met in The Hague today. The initial news is encouraging. As we have learned, the EC representatives spoke favorably about the new proposal from Serbia. The proposal is supported by the delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to this proposal, the level of integration in the future Yugoslav community would correspond to the one that currently exists among the European 12.

However, this modified plan did not satisfy the Slovene delegation. Its representatives—which the local press sarcastically says are present here as observers—still think that there is too much of the Yugoslav state community even in this modified form. Nevertheless, something is moving in the Economic Commission. However, things are still not so certain in the other two commissions.

The Commission for Institutions faces the most difficult job. The Serbian delegation is not prepared to accept the virtual abolition of Yugoslavia's legality toward which

Serbia has been making considerable contributions in the past. The representatives of Europe hold the view that the state in which no federal institution functions virtually no longer exists. Therefore, battle over this will be held here until the last minute.

Some progress can be seen in the Commission for Human Rights. As we have learned from reliable sources, European representatives are ready to offer firmer international guarantees for the autonomy of Serbs in Croatia. What kind of guarantees, and whether they will be sufficient will be probably known tomorrow.

Federal

Federal Executive Council Urges Respect for Law

LD3110153991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1117 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has called on all participants in armed conflicts on the territory of Yugoslavia to observe the basic rules and principles of international humanitarian law and international conventions signed by Yugoslavia and which are part of the Yugoslav legal system. This is reported in a FEC statement on the need to respect the humanitarian norms in war conflicts in Yugoslavia.

Hence, the FEC statement stresses, it is necessary to end all armed attacks on civilians and civilian supplies immediately and to provide assistance and protection for all wounded and sick people, without discrimination and irrespective of conditions, and to behave in a humane fashion to all prisoners, especially toward those who surrender.

Recalling further international conventions signed by our country, the FEC demands that all participants in the armed conflicts on the territory of Yugoslavia provide full support and assistance for humanitarian actions of the Red Cross, in particiular the International Red Cross, and that they observe the Red Cross sign in order to ensure the safety of all who are using the sign to carry out their humanitarian duties. The FEC statement further urges that the free movement of all Red Cross representatives and medical staff helping civilians outside the line of confluct be ensured.

The FEC wants on this occasion, too, the FEC Information Secretariat reports, to point out the importance of observing the international humanitarian law for all participants in the armed conflicts, civilians and civilian goods, and the need to respect humanitarian missions and Red Cross activities, in particular the International Red Cross in the war conditions, the FEC statement forwarded to public information media, concludes.

Slovenia, Croatia Sign Agreement on Payments

AU3110114291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Slovenia and Croatia signed a payments agreement today that will regulate the payment operations between the legal entities of both republics. The agreement envisages that it will be possible to make payments in convertible currency by all means of payment used by the international banking business in accordance with the legislation of each republic. The two republics agreed that nonresidents in one republic can open nonresidents' bank accounts with commercial banks of the other republic. Such bank accounts will be opened in the currency of the republic where the bank account has been opened. The authorized organs of both republics also agreed to recognize the payments made by the Public Auditing Services of the two republics during the period of 8 to 20 October.

Changes in Slovene-Croat Relations Rumored

AU3110104191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The Slovene Press Agency has learned some details about this problem [the report on current relations with Croatia in the Slovene Assembly Commission for International Relations]. Matjaz Sinkovec, president of the commission, said that some fundamental changes will have to be made in the foreign policy toward Croatia. Foreign Minister Rupel said that we do not wish Europe to perceive Slovenia and Croatia as Siamese twins. It was rumored that the Commission for International Relations has not adopted any standpoints for new a policy toward neighboring Croatia yet.

Slovenia

Kucan Reports on Participation in Hague

AU3110102991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The Slovene Assembly Commission for International Relations today continued its 38th session, which was started a few days ago. The agenda contained the report on the proceedings of the Hague peace conference— by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency, and Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Dimitrij Rupel—and a debate on the elements of a coordinated foreign policy toward the Republic of Croatia. This item was later changed to a report on current relations with Croatia and the session was closed to the public. Zvone Zorko reports:

[Begin Zorko recording] Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, in his report concentrated on three basic aspects of the Republic of Slovenia's participation in the peace conference in The Hague. In short, he said the following:

First, Slovenia has opted for standard recognition. However, it does not merely wish to achieve international recognition but also a decision about its association with the EC. Second, from Slovenia's point of view the last session of the Hague Conference did not make a decisive step forward. The conference limited itself to assessing the individual republics' intensity of interest in cooperation and their interest in the so-called Carrington model, which envisages a kind of association of independent states with some joint institutions, including a customs union. Bearing in mind that such a solution is unacceptable for Slovenia, because Slovenia wants to decide by itself if and in what form cooperation with other republics would suit it, one has to admit that Lord Carrington has obviously accepted a Slovene decision, as he has often excluded Slovenia from his plan, as have the presidents of all three commissions. Third, Slovenia is of the opinion that it is impossible to overcome the differences between the republics by a debate as a package [discussing Yugoslavia as a whole], but only with a debate about the objective interests of the individual republics. In consideration of the fact that, despite assurances to the contrary, some would like to convince Slovenia to remain linked with other republics in one way or another, the question surfaced at the session—posed primarily by Foreign Minister Rupel—if, and in what form, should Slovenia continue to participate at the Hague conference. The conviction prevailed that Slovenia must continue participating at the conference at the highest level, and at the same time go even further and strive for Slovene stands also to be contained in the official documents. In this sense the Commission extended full support to the delegation. As we have already mentioned in the introduction, the debate about the second item on the agenda—the report on current relations with Croatia—was closed for the public. [end recording]

FEC Discusses Hague Conference, Adopts Stance

LD3010171991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] at its session today, presided over by Ante Markovic, considered the course so far of the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague and was informed about the results achieved so far. According to the FEC Information Secretariat, standpoints were also agreed on which the Federal Government representatives will advocate at future sessions of the conference.

Having received notification from the relevant bodies in Slovenia that they will observe federal air traffic regulations the FEC proceeded by asking the Federal Secretariat for Transport and Communications to take all necessary measures and activities urgently to restore normal air traffic in the country.

The FEC also endorsed measures which the Federal Secretariat for Finance together with the National Bank of Yugoslavia has taken or plans to take to preserve the value and stability of the dinar and the country's existing foreign currency reserves. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Holds Talks in Carinthia

AU3010195191 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1700 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by Peter Roth]

[Text] Slovene Finance Minister Dusan Sesok held talks with Carinthian politicians today. Dusan Sesok did not come as a beggar to business and industry representatives and political officials in Klagenfurt today but as an equal partner—a clear indication of the new self-confidence in Carinthia's neighboring country.

The chief of the sensitive finance department—which he shares with another official—presented an optimistic picture of the Slovene economy, a picture that is not confirmed by everyday life on the other side of the Carinthian border where black marketeering, foreign currency smuggling, and commercial delinquency on a large scale continue to be rampant as legacies of the old system.

Another legacy of the old system that the new republic, which can now proudly point to a balanced budget, has inherited is the debt of the disintegrating Yugoslavia.

[Begin Sesok recording in Slovene, with superimposed German translation] Yes, Yugoslavia has foreign debts totaling $16 billion, of which Slovenia will take over $1.7 billion—the sum that was spent in Slovenia. In addition, there are credits totaling $3.8 billion that have disappeared somewhere. We are ready here, too, to take over part of this debt, provided we also get some of Yugoslavia's currency reserves totaling $4 billion. [end recording]

That is probably where the matter will fail. Belgrade will hardly give away its last few currency reserves. Possibly the Serbian generals have long spent the last dollar on arms purchases. The economic expert, who was nominated as a member of the Demos government in Ljubljana, is not worried about the young republic's future. Foreign business will be encouraged by unprecedented tax privileges to invest in the country. However, so far, not much capital has flown into the republic. The war in Croatia has discouraged foreign business and industry to invest in Slovenia, even though the situation in the republic has long normalized.

Another problem is the privatization of large enterprises, most of which are still run by way of self-management. Former economics minister Joze Menzinger who had advocated a policy of small steps had already failed by this sensitive issue. Sesok clearly distances himself from his colleagues in the government on this problem, who intend to create a sort of people's shares. The economic expert, who managed to bring a ruined textile enterprise back into the black, said today that Slovenia really

intends to privatize and does not want to have anonymous owners who have no responsibility.

Chambers Hold 'Least Productive' Session

AU3110125491 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Yesterday's session of two chambers of the Slovene Parliament was one of the shortest and least productive this year. The Chamber of Associated Labor adjourned the session after three hours, and the Sociopolitical Chamber after four hours. Thus, the delegates did not accomplish much. Both chambers adopted the Draft Law on Pension and Disability Insurance. The Sociopolitical Chamber adopted additionally the Resolution on the Sovereignty of Slovene Airspace. Here is a report by Marjan Rogelj:

[Begin Marjan Rogelj recording] First, there are some reasons for such an ineffective session. The Demos delegates in the Chamber of Associated Labor were dissatisfied because the chamber report on privatization legislation had not been put on the agenda. They walked out, causing a lack of quorum. At the news conference, they accused the chamber's president, Zupancic, of hindering the debate on privatization legislation, alleging that the chamber has only been dealing with procedural matters for two months. At the same time they stressed that the resulting blockade in the chamber debate on privatization was not their fault.

The Sociopolitical Chamber discovered at about 1500 [1400 GMT] that it had no quorum. [passage omitted] A lack of quorum is becoming a chronic problem of this chamber, hindering the work of the parliament and raising its costs. [passage omitted].

Essentially, however, the parliament is not dynamic enough in solving numerous legislative and other problems in these decisive and fateful times. Consequently, we can even say that it is delaying certain parts of the independence legislation package and fundamental changes in our nascent state. It is high time that the leadership of the Assembly makes order and finds out who the delegates are that miss the sessions most often or leave them too soon. [passage omitted]

Both chambers supported the draft, and the Sociopolitical Chamber adopted a Resolution on the Sovereignty of Slovene Airspace caused by the ban on all Adria [Slovene airline] flights. In this manner Belgrade continues to hinder Slovenia on its path to autonomy and independence. Since the Proclamation of Independence our airspace has been practically closed. Now the Federal Secretariat for Transport and Communications has illegally taken away Adria's permit for domestic and international air transport.

The Sociopolitical Chamber denounced this measure and instructed Slovene executive bodies to act effectively in removing the blockade of the Slovene airspace and to inform the international public and the Hague conference of this problem. It was decided that the Chamber of Associated Labor will resume work on 13 November. [end recording]

General on 'Map of Disengagement' Cease-Fire

LD3110120691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Behind closed doors in the Zagreb I Hotel General Andrija Raseta presented the Army's proposal on the so-called map of disengagement between the warring sides to the EC observers. Before the meeting General Raseta spoke with Jasminka Bogdanic:

[Begin recording] [Bogdanic] According to the available information, there was no meeting yesterday in order to give you time to harmonize the map drawn up by Croatia and to consider the issue of the withdrawal and disengagement of the warring sides.

[Raseta] We did not discuss any withdrawal. The main topic was the cease-fire and how to reach an absolute cease-fire.

[Bogdanic] What is your reaction to the proposed map?

[Raseta] We put forward our own map.

[Bogdanic] Do these two proposals differ considerably?

[Raseta] Yes.

[Bogdanic] What is the main difference? Is it the buffer zone of [passage indistinct] 20 kilometers on both sides of the demarcation line, as proposed by Mr. Agotic?

[Raseta] Do you think that the disengagement refers to the existing situation? In that case, it would not merely be a disengagement but the total withdrawal of the forces.

[Bogdanic] What does your proposal imply?

[Raseta] Our proposal refers to the disengagement along the existing line.

[Bogdanic] Can we expect that tomorrow, at least, on All Saints' Day, the cease-fire will be respected?

[Raseta] I do not think that there shoud be any special cease-fire for the dead. The cease-fire should be because of the living and to avoid any more deaths. [end recording]

Croatia

'Love, Peace Flotilla' Ceremony Held in Dubrovnik

Naval Inspection Under Way

LD3010153291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1303 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] In the Mljet channel the Yugoslav naval inspection of vessels involved in the returning residents of Dubrovnik convoy is at this moment in process. After the ferry Slavija and all other craft have been searched they will be allowed to resume their trip to Dubrovnik harbor 27 miles away.

Earlier Yugoslav naval authorities announced that only the Slavija would be allowed into Dubrovnik but they later recanted on this. The ferry Balkanija has already arrived in Dubrovnik with 80 tons of aid from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

However, our reporter in Dubrovnik, Josko Jelovic, has reported that in the Dubrovnik area, Yugoslav land forces have continued their attacks. The Zupa area came under heavy enemy attack from enemy positions in Golobov Kamen and artillery fire hit Sipan Island. As well, reports have come in that enemy units have fired on the isthmus of Ston.

Mesic Addresses Crowd

LD3110113491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Summary] The flotilla of love and peace arrived in Dubrovnik this morning where it was welcomed by a crowd of several thousand people. At a ceremony in the Port of Gruz, the people of Dubrovnik were addressed by their mayor, Pero Poljanic and by Stipe Mesic.

Mesic told the crowd: On behalf of all of us from the flotilla and on behalf of all of Croatia, I greet you with this message: You are not alone. He added: We are all with you. Today, Croatia is Dubrovnik. This is only a small step, but it is a step we had to take for you, for the world and for Croatia. We had to come here. We had to show that we are one body, that we are unconquerable Croatia. The mad generals and their even madder subordinates thought that by burning houses and destroying towns and villages they could stop the peaceful people of Croatia from achieving what it had set out to achieve—independence and freedom. The spirit of a nation and its heart cannot be stopped. Dubrovnik will remain the bastion of democracy and freedom. Long live Dubrovnik! Long live Croatia!.

Accord on Dubrovnik Demarcation Line Expected

LD3010222291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, October 30 (TANJUG)—An accord may be expected on the "line of demarcation" between the conflicting sides—the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and the Croatian armed formations on Thursday [31 October], Lt.-Col. Radoslav Svicevic said on Wednesday [30 October] night.

Svicevic was conducting negotiations with the Croatian side on behalf of the YPA on the "terms for establishing peace in the Dubrovnik area." The European Community monitor mission was mediating in the talks.

The YPA representative indicated the possibility that the demarcation be carried out on the present cease-fire line, [words indistinct].

Svicevic announced that the talks on Thursday would for the most part be devoted to the 11-point proposal the YPA has put forth as a condition for lifting the blockade of Dubrovnik.

The YPA command for Hercegovina stated on Wednesday night that "it would not in the future permit entry to Dubrovnik to any vessel without proper control." Control would be carried out at the Zelenika port, in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The statement was issued on the occasion of the incident on Wednesday morning, when the Yugoslav navy stopped the ship Slavija in the Mljetski Kanal, near Dubrovnik, and the convoy of some one hundred boats, which were Dubrovnik-bound.

Aboard Slavija was also Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic.

Slavija and ten other boats received permission to sail into Dubrovnik.

However, a certain amount of infantry weapons and ammunition was found on a number of passengers, the army statement said.

Croatians Mobilize Additional Tanks in Slavonia

AU3110161891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Report by Branislav Bozic]

[Text] Croatian armed formations this morning inundated positions of the Banja Luka corps near Nova Gradiska with mortar and artillery fire. The response to the attack was fierce and the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard forces suffered huge losses. This was announced by the information service of the Banja Luka Corps.

This attack is only further confirmation that the truce in western Slavonia will come to nothing.

Last night, with the aid of the Air Force, attacks by Croatian fighters from Novska against Paklenica, from Bair against Lipik, and from Brocice against Jasenovac were repulsed. The Croatian fighters are increasingly using tanks in the attacks, which shows their serious intention of trying to capture western Slavonia. So far, however, all their attacks have been unsuccessful.

In the last three days, they have been particularly fierce in attacks on the positions of the Slavonian territorials in Podravina. The territorials are defending the Serbian villages and barring the Croatian fighters from the Podravska Slatina-Daruvar-Pakrac road, which could in any future wide-spread conflicts be of strategic importance.

Serbia

Foreign Affairs Minister Views Hague Document

AU3010174591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The government of the Republic of Serbia has still not discussed the latest EC document, which envisages sanctions for the failure to sign The Hague Declaration, but it is clear that what is involved is a classic form of imposing a stand on somebody, Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian minister of foreign affairs, said at the regular news conference in the premises of the government of the Republic of Serbia. Here is a report by Marinela Raznjatovic:

[Begin Raznjatovic recording] The Hague Conference should have proffered a framework of good services, that is, a place where all representatives of Yugoslav republics would meet and then perhaps come up with the possible common points of a future platform. However, as Vladislav Jovanovic said, this framework of good services has been abandoned, which is particularly clear from the latest declaration, a classical form of imposing stands. Namely, five stands are being a priori favored and the sixth is being put in the dock.

Besides, Jovanovic explained, not just Serbia harbored reservation about The Hague document, but also Macedonia, Montenegro, and Slovenia, which does not want any kind of community apart from a customs union [trgovinska unija]. In Jovanovic's opinion, the basic problem is that The Hague document only recognizes the stands of the peoples who expressed the desire to become independent and does not see the rights of those peoples who want to remain in a joint state, which means that political solutions have so far been above legal ones.

Minister Jovanovic believes that this will change soon, taking into consideration the fact that a group of experts from Serbia will give a number of constructive amendments to The Hague document most probably today. [end recording]

Serbian View on EC Ministers' Declaration

LD3010174591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 October (TANJUG)—We do not consider the EC ministers' declaration to be an ultimatum because Serbia has never given in to ultimata. Nor do we consider the declaration to be a Hague conference document, but a political document of the Twelve. The Hague conference has obligations toward all the participants and in particular it has to help them devise a joint language and heed the stands of all participants in an even-handed manner.

This was said today by Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic during his regular press conference.

Serbian Vice Premier Dr. Budimir Kosutic also spoke to the journalists. Answering a question he said that it would be a good thing if another government reconstruction were to take place and if other competent people, regardless of their party membership, and especially nonparty figures, were to join it.

Draft Evasion Procedures Strengthened

LD3110102691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 October (TANJUG)—The application of sanctions against conscripts who in any way try to avoid mobilization or military service was the main topic at a consultative meeting today organized by the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Serbia. A statement issued by the Serbian Defense Ministry says this significant meeting was also attended by representatives of appropriate departments of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, competent commands of war units, the republican Headquarters of the Territorial Defence, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia and competent Army judicial bodies.

In the course of a lengthy and comprehensive discussion, the latest reports were presented, contentious issues clarified and an agreement reached on synchronized actions to prevent any kind of impermissible behavior regarding military service and mobilization.

It was particularly stressed, the statement adds, that the proclamation of immediate war danger has created conditions to heighten the responsibility of all those who are breaking the law and committing criminal acts against the SFRY Armed Forces. It was noted that all defense subjects ought to be fully involved in the removal of shortcomings in the process of setting up and manning war units of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Territorial Defense. In this connection a conclusion was reached that inspectors should intensify their supervision of mobilization and that responsibility should be established.

All participants of the meeting should employ all their efforts to obtain evidence regarding initiating criminal proceedings against those who either evade or disturb the process of mobilization and military service. Bodies of the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs should take even stronger efforts to take energetic measures to secure the return of weapons, ammunition and other Army equipment from conscripts who return home from crisis areas, the statement of the Serbian Defense Ministry says in conclusion.

Serbians Ordered To Leave Slavonska Pozega

AU3110162491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by Jasna Tomic from Slavonska Pozega]

[Text] The residents of all Serbian villages in the Orljavica valley below the Psunj and Papuk Mountains received an order via Slavonska Pozega Radio to move out of the villages within 24 hours because of possible Chetnik attacks. By spreading false anxiety for the safety of the Serbian population, another means has been created to move these people out of the Psunj and Papuk area.

While the people were moving out, attempting to take some of their property, carrying clothes and basic necessities for the coming winter—some have been trying to drive cattle—members of the Croatian forces were entering the villages by truck and shooting into the air. Columns of people are hurriedly leaving in various directions, leaving their property behind.

The deadline for departure is tomorrow at 1200 [1100 GMT], while the villages of Orljavac, Podsrce, Srljenci, Kujnik, Slubozdina, Bukovac, Pasikovci, Koprivna, Cecavac, Rasna, Snegavic, Zigarovci, Vucjak, Jeminovac, and Milivojevci no longer exist. The village of Vranic was ransacked and burned today.

Moreover, movement throughout Slavonska Pozega has been banned as of 1200 tomorrow for all people not in the service of the Croatian armed forces and civil defense. Since all Croatians in the town have been organized to this end, movement by anyone else is prohibited.

Air-to-Surface Missiles Misfire Over Munja

LD3010200391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The information office of the air force and antiaircraft defense has announced that at about 1230 yesterday, in the region of Sremska Mitrovica, several Munja missiles aboard a Galeb jet self-fired during an attempt to engage the weapons.

The missiles fell near the village of Zasavica not far from Sremska Mitrovica. An investigation carried out on the scene of the incident by the Sremska Mitrovica Internal Ministry organs and representatives of the First Army district and of the Air Force established that there were no casualties and that no noteworthy damage was caused.

The cause of the incident is being investigated but it is believed that electrical installations on the aircraft failed to function properly during the flight, the information office says in conclusion.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

President Comments on Paper Sent to Assembly

AU3010204091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] On the occasion of the news item carried in the media that the Platform on the Position of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Future Setup of the Yugoslav Community and the Memorandum, Letter on Intentions have been sent to the Cabinet of the SFRY Assembly President and that these documents have been forwarded to all SFRY Assembly delegates, we have received an announcement from the Cabinet of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly president which says the following:

The documents that have been submitted to the SFRY Assembly and its deputies have not been adopted by the Assembly of Bosnia- Hercegovina in a legitimate way and therefore cannot have any constitutional and legal influence regarding sovereignty and independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina, nor regarding the relation of its assembly toward the SFRY Assembly. We also point out that the said documents were submitted to the SFRY Assembly by an unauthorized person, it is said in the announcement we received from the Cabinet of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly president.

Muslim Party Officials Give Sandzak Vote Results

AU3010194291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] A news conference was held in Sarajevo today at which Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the Party of Democratic Action in Sandzak, took part. It was claimed at the news conference that the referendum in Sandzak was successful despite, as was said at the conference, the repression on the part of the Serb and Montenegrin authorities. Here is Ljubomir Nikolic reporting from Sarajevo:

[Begin Nikolic recording] In 10 Sandzak communes, out of 224,156 voters, 185,437 of them, that is, 70.19 percent, have voted and 183,301 person, that is, as much as 98.92 percent voted in favor of the autonomy of Sandzak. According to Rasim Ljajic, there were 1,982 votes against and 153 ballot papers were invalid.

Ljajic added that 283 ethnic Serb citizens and 135 ethnic Montenegrins also voted in favor of the autonomy of Sandzak, but that their number would have been much higher had it not been for pressures and repression on the part of the authorities.

It was also said that 63,000 Sandzak people voted in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that they voted in favor of autonomy. One is now expecting results of the vote held in other republics and abroad.

Sulejman Ugljanin and Rasim Ljajic said today that many examples of bullying behavior of Serbian and Montenegrin authorities who tried to hamper the vote have been recorded in Novi Pazar, Bijelo Polje, and other towns. Followers of the Party of Democratic Action were detained and maltreated, their houses were searched, and referendum documents destroyed. We have photographs and video evidence, which we are going to present to Europe and the world, the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak say.

One could also hear today that a group of Martic's [Milan Martic of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina] militiamen stormed a Sandzak referendum polling station in Hadzici near Sarajevo and prevented the vote.

Sulejman Ugljanin said that the Muslim National Council will inform all federal and republican institutions and organs, including the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, about the results of the referendum on the autonomy of Sandzak.

Irfan Ajanovic has joined Ugljanin and Ljajic in condemning the behavior of the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities in hampering the referendum. Ajanovic claimed that methods involved are of the kind that the Wermacht and Gestapo used to apply here.

Leaders of the Party of Democratic Action point out that the aim of the referendum is to return the full cultural and political autonomy to Sandzak, the status it had in the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, so that on the basis of the decisions made in The Hague, the people could decide for themselves on their destiny.

Bosnian Muslim Criticizes Police Performance

LD3010230791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1717 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 30 October (TANJUG)—"The Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not working as it should in all parts of the republic." Such a statement was given at a press conference today by Muhamed Cengic, Vice Chairman of the Party of Democratic Action and Bosnia-Hercegovina Vice Premier.

This statement was prompted by a report saying that in Hadzici an explosive device was thrown at a house which served as a polling station for the people from the Bosnia-Hercegovina part of Sandzak and which was raided by members of the Martic police. They were arrested but immediately released.

If this is true, Cengic said, the Ministry of Internal Affairs should submit a report and perform all its duties in accordance with the law. The Party of Democratic Action, he said, will not allow Muslims to be an inferior people in sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. Cengic holds that the public prosecutor in Bosnia-Hercegovina should bring criminal charges against all those who were publicly stating that they would break up the republic. [passage omitted]

Bosnia Croats Protest YPA Stand on Ravno

LD3010231491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 30 Oct (TANJUG)— The Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] for Bosnia-Hercegovina today issued a statement protesting against the fact that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] did not allow a special republican state committee to visit the village of Ravno, Trebinje municipality, and examine allegations about the destruction of this Croatian-populated village.

"According to credible statements by witnesses—the statement says—army units carried out a pogrom and a reprisal in this peaceful village of Bosnia-Hercegovina which they destroyed and burned down, forcing the villagers, mainly old people, to seek refuge elsewhere or sending them to military prisons, "thus wreaking revenge on the innocent people for their major defeat in the village of Cepikuce, Republic of Croatia."

"We are asking the EC, the United Nations and Amnesty International to set up an international commission which would establish all the facts related to this genocide commited by the so-called YPA against the Croatian people in the Trebinje municipality," the statement of the HDZ for Bosnia-Hercegovina stresses.

Army To Search All Dubrovnik-Bound Vehicles

LD3010202591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Trebinje, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The Command of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] second operational group for Hercegovina will not in the future allow any vehicle to enter Dubrovnik without an appropriate search, which will be carried out exclusively in Zelenika near Herceg Novi. This will remain in force as long as representatives of the Croatian and Dubrovnik authorities do not accept the 11-point peace plan, which the YPA put forward for the normalization of life in that town.

This was revealed by the information service of the YPA second operational group for Hercegovina stationed in Trebinja, in connection with the Dubrovnik flotilla which arrived in Dubrovnik this afternoon. SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic arrived with the flotilla. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Presidency Supports Hague Conference Communique

LD3110070591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0418 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Titograd, October 31 (TANJUG)—The Hague conference's draft document for a solution to the crisis in Yugoslavia is open to all possibilities which appreciate the democratically voiced will of Yugoslavia's citizens and peoples and so secure conditions for a real peace in Yugoslavia, the Presidency of the Republic of Montenegro, southwestern Yugoslavia, estimated here today.

According to the communique released here last evening, The Hague document also confirms, in addition to a free assocation of the republics, any higher degree of integration. Also proceeding from it is the possibility for making true the wishes of individual republics and peoples who would opt to live together in a joint state. In line with the agreement's provisions, also indispensable is to secure the continuity of the joint state's subjectivity for those Yugoslav republics and peoples wishing so, the communique stresses.

Montenegro's representatives propose in The Hague conference amendments, too, for the purpose of explaining and removing possible ambiguous interpretations of The Hague document's fundamental principles.

"This would secure in this document as well, just on the ground of the principles promoted, to also provide in more details as possible solutions contained in the belgrade initiative Montenegro's assembly adopted as one of the possibilities for a solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia," stresses the communique of Montenegro's Presidency, after it having discussed preparations for the Prague conference to continue, and for the teams of experts' activities in particular.

At the past plenary session of The Hague conference, Montenegro accepted the EC proposal for how to solve the crisis in Yugoslavia. Out of Yugoslavia's six republics, only Serbia did not accept it. Like Montenegro before, Serbia spoke for Yugoslavia as a federation, not as a loose association of sovereign states in Yugoslavia.